CATO's

LETTERS:

OR,

ESSAYS *on* LIBERTY,

CIVIL and RELIGIOUS,

And other important SUBJECTS.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

BERWICK.
Printed and sold by R. TAYLOR.
M,DCC.LIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

CATO's LETTERS.

Saturday, December 8. 1722. N°. 106.

Of plantations and colonies.

SIR,

I Intend, in this letter, to give my opinion about plantations; a ſubject which ſeems to me to be underſtood but by few, and little uſe is made of it where it is. It is moſt certain, that the riches of a nation conſiſt in the number of its inhabitants, when thoſe inhabitants are uſefully employed, and no more of them live upon the induſtry of others (like drones in a hive) than are neceſſary to preſerve the œconomy of the whole: for the reſt, ſuch as gameſters, cheats, thieves, ſharpers, and abbey-lubbers, with ſome of their betters, waſte and deſtroy the public wealth, without adding any thing to it. Therefore, if any nation drive, either by violence, or by ill uſage and diſtreſs, any of its ſubjects out of their country, or ſend any of them out in fooliſh wars, or uſeleſs expeditions, or for any other cauſes, which do not re-

turn more advantage than bring loſs, they ſo far enervate their ſtate, and let out part of their beſt heart's blood.

Now, in many inſtances, men add more to the public ſtock by being out of their country, than in it; as ambaſſadors, public miniſters, and their retinues, who tranſact the affairs of a nation; merchants and tradeſmen, who carry on its traffic; ſoldiers, in neceſſary wars; and ſometimes travellers, who teach us the cuſtoms, manners, and policies, of diſtant countries, whereby we may regulate and improve our own. All, or moſt of theſe, return to us again with advantage. But, in other inſtances, a man leaves his country, never, or very rarely, to return again; and then the ſtate will ſuffer loſs, if the perſon ſo leaving it be not employed abroad in ſuch induſtry, in raiſing ſuch commodities, or in performing ſuch ſervices, as will return more benefit to his native country, than they ſuffer prejudice by loſing an uſeful member.

This is often done by planting colonies, which are of two ſorts: one to keep conquered countries in ſubjection, and to prevent the neceſſity of conſtant ſtanding armies: a policy which the *Romans* practiſed, till their conqueſts grew too numerous, the conquered countries too diſtant, and their empire to unwieldy to be managed by their native force only; and then they became the ſlaves of thoſe whom they conquered. This policy for many ages, we ourſelves uſed in *Ireland*, till the faſhion of our neighbours, and the wiſdom of modern ages, taught us the uſe of armies: and I wiſh that thoſe who come after us may never learn all their uſes. I muſt confeſs, that I am not wiſe enough to enter into all the policy made uſe of formerly in governing that country; and ſhall in proper time communicate my doubts, in hopes to receive better information. In the mean time, I cannot but perſuade myſelf, that when our ſuperiors are at leiſure from greater affairs, it may be poſſible to

offer them a propoſition more honourable to the crown, more advantageous to each kingdom, and to the particular members of them, and vaſtly more conducive to the power of the whole *Britiſh* empire, than the doubtful ſtate which they are now in. But as this is not the purpoſe of my preſent letter, I ſhall proceed to conſider the nature of the other ſort of colonies.

The other ſort of colonies are for trade, and intended to encreaſe the wealth and power of the native kingdom; which they will abundantly do, if managed prudently, and put and kept under a proper regulation. No nation has, or ever had, all the materials of commerce within itſelf: no climate produces all commodities; and yet it is the intereſt, pleaſure, or convenience, of every people, to uſe or trade in moſt or all of them; and rather to raiſe them themſelves, than to purchaſe them from others, unleſs in ſome inſtances, when they change their own commodities for them, and employ as many or more people at home in that exchange, ſuch as would loſe their employment by purchaſing them from abroad. Now, colonies planted in proper climates, and kept to their proper buſineſs, undoubtedly do this; and particularly many of our own colonies in the *Weſt Indies* employ ten times their own number in *Old England*, by ſending them from hence proviſions, manufactures, utenſils for themſelves and their ſlaves, by navigation, working up the commodities that they ſend us, by retaining and exporting them afterwards, and in returning again to us ſilver and gold, and materials for new manufactures; and our northern colonies do, or may if encouraged, ſupply us with timber, hemp, iron, and other metals, and indeed with moſt or all the materials of navigation, and our neighbours too, thro' our hands; and by that means ſettle a ſolid naval power in *Great Britain*, not precarious, and ſubject to diſappointments, and the caprices of our neighbours;

which management would make us ſoon maſters of moſt of the trade of the world.

I would not ſuggeſt ſo diſtant a thought, as that any of our colonies, when they grow ſtronger, ſhould ever attempt to wean themſelves from us; however, I think too much care cannot be taken to prevent it, and to preſerve their dependences upon their mother-country. It is not to be hoped, in the corrupt ſtate of human nature, that any nation will be ſubject to another any longer than it finds its own account in it, and cannot help itſelf. Every man's firſt thought will be for himſelf, and his own intereſt; and he will not be long to ſeek for arguments to juſtify his being ſo, when he knows how to attain what he propoſes. Men will think it hard to work, toil, and run hazards, for the advantage of others, any longer than they find their own intereſt in it, and eſpecially for thoſe who uſe them ill: all nature points out that courſe. No creatures ſuck the teats of their dams longer than they can draw milk from thence, or can provide themſelves with better food: nor will any country continue their ſubjection to another, only becauſe their great-grandmothers were acquainted.

This is the courſe of human affairs; and all wiſe ſtates will always have it before their eyes. They will well conſider therefore how to preſerve the advantages ariſing from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive, that there can be but two ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence; one to keep it out of their power, and the other out of their will. The firſt muſt be by force; and the latter by uſing them well, and keeping them employed in ſuch productions, and making ſuch manufactures, as will ſupport themſelves and families comfortably, and procure them wealth too, or at leaſt not prejudice their mother-country.

Force can never be uſed effectually to anſwer the end, without deſtroying the colonies themſelves. Li-

berty and encouragement are neceſſary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops conſiderable enough to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection, under the direction too of a needy governor, often ſent thither to make his fortune, and at ſuch a diſtance from any application for redreſs, will ſoon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the ſoldiers alone; and if it did not, would eat up all the profit of the colony. For this reaſon, arbitrary countries have not been equally ſucceſsful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force, at a vaſt expence, or by departing from the nature of their government, and giving ſuch privileges to planters as were denied to their other ſubjects. And I dare ſay, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would ſoon give us far the greateſt ſhare of the riches of all *America*, perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into our colonies for ſhelter.

If violence, or methods tending to violence, be not uſed to prevent it, our northern colonies muſt conſtantly encreaſe in people, wealth, and power. Men living in healthy climates, paying eaſy or no taxes, not moleſted with wars, muſt vaſtly encreaſe by natural generation; beſides that, vaſt numbers every day flow thither from our own dominions, and from other parts of *Europe*, becauſe they have there ready employment, and lands given to them for tilling; inſomuch that I am told they have doubled their inhabitants ſince the revolution, and in leſs than a century muſt become powerful ſtates; and the more powerful they grow, ſtill the more people will flock thither. And there are ſo many exigencies in all ſtates, ſo many foreign wars and domeſtic diſturbances, that theſe colonies can never want opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they ſhall find their in-

tereſt to do; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it ſhall never be their intereſt to act againſt that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwiſe be averted, than by keeping them fully employed in ſuch trades as will encreaſe their own, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for them, they may find it for us.

No two nations, no two bodies of men, or ſcarce two ſingle men, can long continue in friendſhip, without having ſome cement of their union; and where relation, acquaintance, or mutual pleaſures, are wanting, mutual intereſts alone can bind it: but when thoſe intereſts ſeparate, each ſide muſt aſſuredly purſue their own. The intereſt of colonies is often to gain independency; and is always ſo when they no longer want protection, and when they can employ themſelves more advantageouſly than in ſupplying materials of traffic to others: and the intereſt of the mother-country is always to keep them dependent, and ſo employed; and it requires all their addreſs to do it; and it is certainly more eaſily and effectually done by gentle and inſenſible methods, than by power alone.

Men will always think that they have a right to air, earth, and water, a right to employ themſelves for their own ſupport, to live by their own labours, to apply the gifts of God to their own benefit; and, in order to it, to make the beſt of their ſoil, and to work up their own product: and when this cannot be done without detriment to their mother country, there can be but one fair, honeſt, and indeed effectual, way to prevent it; which is, to divert them upon other employments as advantageous to themſelves, and more ſo their employers; that is, in raiſing ſuch growth, and making ſuch manufactures, as will not prejudice their own, or at leaſt in no degree equal to the advantage which they bring: and when

ſuch commodities are raiſed or made, they ought to be taken off their hands, and the people ought not to be forced to find out other markets by ſtealth, or to throw themſelves upon new protectors. Whilſt people have full employment, and can maintain themſelves comfortably in a way which they have been uſed to, they will never ſeek after a new one, eſpecially when they meet encouragement in one, and are diſcountenanced in the other.

As without this conduct colonies muſt be miſchievous to their mother country, for the reaſons before given, ſo with it the greateſt part of the wealth which they acquire centers there; for all their productions are ſo many augmentations of our power and riches, as they are returns of the people's labour, the rewards of merchants, or increaſe of navigation; without which all who are ſent abroad are a dead loſs to their country, and as uſeleſs as if really dead; and worſe than ſo, if they become enemies: for we can ſend no commodities to them, unleſs they have others to exchange for them, and ſuch as we find our intereſt in taking.

As to our ſouthern plantations, we are in this reſpect upon a tolerable foot already; for the productions there are of ſo different a nature from our own, that they can never interfere with us; and the climates are ſo unhealthy, that no more people will go or continue there than are neceſſary to raiſe the commodities which we want; and conſequently they can never be dangerous to us: but our northern colonies are healthy climates, and can raiſe all or moſt of the commodities, which our own country produces. They conſtantly encreaſe in people, and will conſtantly encreaſe; and, without the former precautions, muſt, by the natural courſe of human affairs, interfere with moſt branches of our trade, work up our beſt manufactures, and at laſt grow too powerful and unruly to be governed for our intereſt only; and therefore, ſince the way lies open to us to

prevent ſo much miſchief, to do ſo much good, and add ſo much wealth and power to *Great Britain*, by making thoſe countries the magazines of our naval ſtores, I hope we ſhall not loſe all theſe advantages, in compliment to the intereſts of a few private gentlemen, or even to a few counties.

We have had a ſpecimen of this wiſe conduct in prohibiting the *Iriſh* cattle, which were formerly brought to *England* lean, in exchange for our commodities, and fatted here; but are now killed and ſent abroad directly from *Ireland:* and ſo we loſe the whole carriage and merchants advantage, and the vent of the commodities ſent to purchaſe them. And lately we have made ſuch another prudent law, to prevent the importing their woollen manufacture; which has put them upon wearing none of ours, making all or moſt of their own cloth themſelves; exporting great quantities of all ſorts by ſtealth, and the greater part of their wooll, to rival nations; and by ſuch means it is that we are beholden to the plague in *France*, to their *Miſſiſſippi* company, and their total loſs of credit, that we have not loſt a great part of that manufacture. It is true, we have made ſome notable proviſion to hedge in the cuckoo, and to make all the people of that kingdom execute a law, which it is every man's intereſt there not to execute; and it is executed accordingly.

I ſhall ſome time hereafter conſider that kingdom in relation to the intereſt of *Great Britain;* and ſhall ſay at preſent only, that it is too powerful to be treated only as a colony; and that if we deſign to continue them friends, the beſt way to do it is, to imitate the example of merchants and ſhop-keepers; that is, when their apprentices are acquainted with their trade and their cuſtomers, and are out of their time, to take them into partnerſhip, rather than let them ſet up for themſelves in their neighbourhood.

T. *I am*, &c.

Saturday, December 15. 1722. N°. 107.

Of public credit and ſtocks.

SIR,

I Have in a former letter obſerved, That men ever have been, and, I doubt, ever will be, cheated by ſounds, without having any juſt ideas annexed to them. When words have obtained an eſteem, and ſort of veneration, their meanings will be varied as often as thoſe in poſſeſſion of reverence and popular applauſe have occaſion to make different uſes of them. It ſeems to me, that no word has ſuffered more from this abuſe than the word *credit;* nor in any inſtance has the public ſuffered more miſchief than by the abuſe of it.

A merchant, or tradeſman, is ſaid to be in good credit, when his viſible gains appear to be greater than his expences; when he is induſtrious, and takes care of his affairs; when he makes punctual payments, and the wares which he ſells may be depended upon as to their goodneſs and value; and when thoſe who deal with him can have a reaſonable aſſurance that he will make a profit by his care from the commodities that they entruſt him with; and, if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, that he has a remaining ſubſtance ſufficient at laſt to anſwer all demands. A private gentleman is ſaid to have great credit who lives within his income, has regard to his character and his honour, is juſt to his word and his promiſes, and is known to have an unincumbered eſtate, or one ſuperior to all his ſuppoſed engagements; from whence his creditors form a reaſonable expectation that they ſhall be paid again without a law-ſuit, and

and a certainty that they can be paid with one: and therefore all theſe will be truſted for as much as they are worth, and ſometimes more, at the loweſt price for the goods which they buy, and at the loweſt intereſt for the money which they borrow.

But if a merchant be obſerved to live in riot and profuſion, to leave his eſtate to the direction of ſervants, who cheat him, or neglect his buſineſs; if he turn projector, do not pay his bills, and ſhuffle in his bargains, and ſell faulty goods which are bought upon his word: or, if a gentleman be known to ſpend more than his income, to mortgage his lands, to take no care of his eſtate, or how his ſtewards or bailiffs manage it; if he run in debt to tradeſmen and mechanics, and be perpetually borrowing money, without any thoughts how to pay it: I ſay, under ſuch management, no fair dealer will have any thing to do with them; and of courſe they fall into the hands of ſcriveners, knaviſh attorneys, and griping uſurers; will be fed from hand to mouth, pay double and treble intereſt for what they receive, till their creditors watch their opportunity, and ſweep all.

Credit is ſaid to run high in a nation, when there are great numbers of wealthy ſubjects in the former circumſtances, which will always be produced by an affluent trade; and when the commodities of a country, and the production of the people's labour, find a ready vent, and at a good price: for then they will ſee their account in punctuality of payment and fair dealing, and will not run the hazard of loſing a regular ſuſtenance for their families, or a conſtant profit ariſing from an open trade, for the preſent and occaſional advantage which they may hope to receive from a knaviſh bargain, or a fraudulent circumvention: and thoſe who do otherwiſe, are generally undone, and ſell a conſtant and a yearly income to themſelves, and poſſibly to their families after them, for a year or two's purchaſe, and often for much leſs.

But if any of theſe be above or without the reach of the laws, or by reaſon of their ſtation and figure, it be difficult to get the benefit of the laws, their credit will proportionably abate, becauſe a great part of the ſecurity which they can give fails, and they muſt conſequently pay greater intereſt and procuration for the money that they borrow, and a greater price for the goods that they buy: for, thoſe who deal with them, will always propoſe to be gainers by the whole, upon computing their delays and hazards.

The credit of a ſtate, or what we call public credit, muſt be preſerved by the ſame means as private men preſerve theirs; namely, by doing ſtrict juſtice to particulars; by being exact in their payments, not chicaning in their bargains, nor frightening and tricking people into them, or out of them; by letting them know what they buy, and not altering the nature or property of it, to ſerve after-purpoſes, and without the free conſent of the perſons intereſted: and they are always to take eſpecial care to ſell nothing but what is valuable; to coin ſilver and gold, and not put the ſtamp of public authority upon baſe and counterfeit metals.

Indeed, ſtates are much more concerned to keep up the opinion of their integrity than private men; becauſe thoſe that truſt them have, in effect, only their honour and their intereſt to depend upon for payment; and therefore will well conſider whether it be their intereſt to maintain their honour. I doubt private men would have little credit, and upon very ill terms too, if they could not be ſued, or could vacate their own ſecurities; for, when it becomes more a man's intereſt not to pay, than to pay, his debts, and he can chooſe which he pleaſes, no one would care to have any part of his fortune depend upon thoſe reſolutions. It is certainly the intereſt of all men to keep up the reputation of their honeſty as long as it can be kept,

in order to be truſted for the future; but when they can be truſted no longer, nor are able to pay what they are already truſted with, and can decline paying it when they ſee apparent ruin in being honeſt, it is eaſy to gueſs what courſe will be taken.

What nation beſides our own has explained public honour by any other maxims than thoſe of public intereſt? Or have kept their treaties or agreements with foreign ſtates, or one another, any longer than it was their intereſt upon the whole to keep them? And indeed very few have kept them ſo long. I am ſure that no wiſe ſtate will depend upon the obſervance of leagues and national contracts any longer. What country has not made frequent acts of reſumption, when the folly and knavery of their predeceſſors has embezzled the public revenues, and rendered the ſtate unable to defend itſelf? Whence private men have been deprived of eſtates to which they had undoubted titles by the laws of their country, eſtates which perhaps had paſſed many deſcents and many purchaſes; and yet the loſers ſometimes have no other reaſon to complain, than that they want the conſolation of ſeeing their country undone with them; which muſt have been the caſe, if they had not been undone alone. *Sweden* did this in the laſt age; *Spain* lately; and another country, in our time, has not only in effect cancelled all its engagements, but by various ſtratagems drawn the wealth of the whole into its coffers, and ſeized it when it was there. Which puts me in mind of a ſtory of a butcher, who thought himſelf happy in the poſſeſſion of a ſagacious, diligent, and ſeemingly faithful, dog, to whom, by long experience of his ſervice, he thought he might ſafely truſt the cuſtody of his ſhambles in his abſence: but *hector* one day obſerving, againſt a great feſtival, the ſhop to be much fuller of meat than uſual, thought it was high time to ſet up for himſelf, and ſo very reſolutely de-

nied his maſter enterance; who had then no remedy left but to ſhoot him.

I have above endeavoured to ſhew what, and what alone, ought to be called *credit*. But there has lately riſen up, in our age, a new-fangled and fantaſtical credulity, which has uſurped the ſame name, and came in with the word *bite*, which has been made free of a neighbouring court; whereby the poor, innocent, induſtrious, and unwary, people, have been delivered into the ravenous and polluted jaws of vultures and tygers; and thouſands, I had almoſt ſaid millions, have been ſacrificed, to ſatiate the gluttony of a few. This has inverted the œconomy and policy of nations; made a great kingdom turn all gameſters; and men have acquired the reputation of wiſdom, from their ſkill in picking pockets: it has entered into the cabinets of courts; has guided the councils of ſenates, and employed their whole wiſdom; nay, moſt of their time has been employed in keeping up this wild and airy traffic; as if the buſineſs of government was not to protect people in their property, but to cheat them out of it.

This is eminently true in a neighbouring country; I wiſh I could ſay, that nothing like it had ever happened amongſt us. But as no men now in power are anſwerable for this great miſchief, ſo I hope and believe, that we ſhall have their hearty aſſiſtance to extricate us out of all theſe evils. And as I pleaſe myſelf with believing, that I ſpeak the ſenſe of my ſuperiors, ſo I ſhall take the liberty to ſay, that neither public nor private credit can conſiſt in ſelling any thing for more than it is worth, or for any thing but what it is worth. It is certainly the intereſt of a country, that its commodities ſhould ſell at a good price, and find a ready vent; that private men ſhould be able ſafely to truſt one another; that lands ſhould find ready purchaſers, good ſecurities, money at low intereſt; and that mortgages ſhould be eaſily transferrable. And the

way to bring theſe good purpoſes to paſs, is to aſcertain titles; to give ready remedies to the injured; to procure general plenty by prudent laws, and by giving all encouragement to induſtry and honeſty. But it will never be effected by authorizing or countenancing frauds; by enabling artful men to circumvent the unwary; by ſtamping the public ſeal upon counterfeit wares; or by conſtantly coining a new ſort of property, of a precarious, uncertain, and tranſitory, value; and, by conſtant juggles and combinations, conſpiring to make it more ſo: which conduct, whenever practiſed, muſt ſoon put an end to all public and private credit.

In what country ſoever theſe practices meet with encouragement, all fair and honeſt dealing will be turned into juggling. There will quickly grow a ſort of cabaliſtical learning: and there will be a ſecret and vulgar knowledge; one to be truſted only to the truſty adepts and managers; and the other to be divulged to the people, who will be told nothing but what is for the intereſt of their betters to communicate; and pretty advantages may be made by being in the ſecret. As for example: juſt before any public misfortune is to make its appearance, thoſe who know of it may ſell out; and in the height of the danger buy again; and when it is over, by taking another opportunity, they may ſell a ſecond time. And when theſe evils are averted, they may go to market once more; and ſo, *toties quoties*, till the greateſt part of the property of a kingdom be got into the hands of but a few perſons, who will then undoubtedly govern all the reſt. Nor can theſe miſchiefs be poſſibly prevented, but by wholly deſtroying this ſort of traffic, or by appointing ſkilful pilots to ſet up occaſional buoys and ſea-marks, according to the ſhifting of the winds and the tides; that is, by aſcertaining and publiſhing the real value of all public ſecurities, as often as there is an alteration made in them by new proviſions,

or by wholly preventing the abuſes occaſioned by the vile trade of ſtock-jobbing; which I conceive is not difficult to do, when ſtock-jobbers have no hand in directing the remedy.

Till ſomething of this kind be done, it is fooliſh to think, and worſe to pretend to think, that any effectual methods can be taken to diſcharge and pay off the national engagements: for, in whatever country it happens, that the public funds become the markets and ſtanding revenues of thoſe who can beſt cure the evil; where great and ſudden eſtates may be more eaſily raiſed by knavery and juggling, than ſmall ones by virtue and merit; where plumbs may be got at once, and vaſt ſocieties may be made the accomplices of power, in order to be indulged with ſeparate advantages; it is not to be hoped that effectual methods will be taken to dam and choak up ſuch inexhauſtible ſources of wealth and dominion: on the contrary, it is to be feared, that new projects will be yearly invented, new ſchemes coloured with popular pretences, to toſs and tumble the public ſecurities, and to change them into as many ſhapes as *Porteus* knew. One year ſhall metamorphoſe the ſchemes of another; and the next ſhall undo both. The leaders of one faction ſhall unravel the projects of their predeceſſors; ſhall charge their deſigns with corruption and rapine, and be more rapacious themſelves; and all in their turns ſhall raiſe vaſt eſtates upon the public ruins; and the laſt ſpirit ſhall be always the worſt. Artful and conſpiring men ſhall buy up deſperate debts, and then uſe intrigues and corruption to load their country with them; and the buſineſs of nations ſhall ſtand ſtill, or rather, it ſhall become their buſineſs to fiſh in theſe troubled ſtreams, till, by long experience of the loſs of their fellows, the fiſh will bite no longer; and then it is eaſy to gueſs what is next to be done. There is but one method which can be taken; and that will be taken.

I would gladly know what advantage ever has, or ever can, accrue to the public, by raiſing ſtocks to an imaginary value, beyond what they are really worth to an honeſt man, who purchaſes them for a regular ſupport to himſelf and family, and deſigns not to ſell them again, till he has occaſion for the money that they will produce. It can moſt aſſuredly ſerve no honeſt purpoſe, and will promote a thouſand knaviſh ones. Beſides thoſe before-mentioned, it turns moſt of the current coin of *England* out of the chanels of trade, and the heads of all its merchants and traders off their proper buſineſs; it enriches the worſt men, and ruins the innocent: it taints mens morals, and defaces all the principles of virtue and fair dealing; and introduces combination and fraud in all ſorts of traffic. It has changed honeſt commerce into bubbling; our traders into projectors; induſtry into tricking; and applauſe is earned, when the pillory is deſerved: it has created all the diſſatisfaction ſo much complained of, and all the miſchiefs attending it, which daily threaten us, and which furniſh reaſons for ſtanding or occaſional troops: it has cauſed all the confuſion in our public finances: it has ſet up monſtrous members and ſocieties in the body politic, which are grown, I had almoſt ſaid, too big for the whole kingdom: it has multiplied offices and dependences in the power of the court, which in time may fill the legiſlature, and alter the balance of government: it has overwhelmed the nation with debts and burdens, under which it is almoſt ready to ſink; and has hindered thoſe debts from being paid off: for if ſtocks ſell for more, or much more upon the *exchange*, than the prices at which they are redeemable; or more can be got by jobbing them than by diſcharging them, then all arts will be uſed to prevent a redemption. But as this is not at preſent our caſe, ſo it is every man's intereſt, concerned in our funds, to ſecure their prin-

cipal, and to promote every means which will enable their country to pay them.

I doubt not but I ſhall incur the cenſure of many, by thus laying open our nakedneſs, and probing our wounds; and I cannot deny but I found ſome reluctance in doing it: but it muſt be done before they can be cured. The patient cannot now bear quacking; and if effectual remedies be not ſpeedily taken, the caſe is deſperate. The ſecurity, and intereſt of the crown, the power and reputation of the kingdom, the credit and honour of the miniſtry, depend upon doing this great work: and I really believe that the latter have inclinations and reſolutions to do it. It can never be done effectually without their aſſiſtance; and if they give it, and ſet themſelves at the head of ſo public a good, they will juſtly obtain a reputation far beyond any who have ever appeared before them, and will enjoy unenvied all the wealth and advantages which attend greatneſs and power. It is folly in any one, who is the leaſt acquainted with the affairs of nations, to pretend not to ſee, that if we do not ſoon put our public debts in a method of being paid, they can never be paid; and all will certainly do their utmoſt to prevent ſo fatal a miſchief to their country; I mean, all who do not intend it. But if there be any ſuch, which I hope and believe there are not, they will then undoubtedly take early care to ſave themſelves out of the general wreck; which very few will be able to do, though all will intend it. Thoſe in the ſecret will have the advantage; for when ſelling becomes the word, no one can ſell, unleſs he ſells for little or nothing. All will be waiting for a riſe; and if that happen, all or moſt will endeavour to ſell, and then all ſelling is at an end: the managers and brokers will engroſs the books, as they did lately, and command the firſt ſale; and by the time that they are got out, no one elſe will be able to get out.

There is nothing therefore left to be done, but for all honeſt men to join heads, hearts, and hands, to find all means to diſcharge the public burdens, and to add no more to them; to ſearch every meaſure how we can leſſen the national expences; to avoid all occaſions of engaging in new ones; and to do all in our power to encreaſe trade and the public wealth, without ſacrificing it to any jobs or private views. Which conduct alone will enable us honeſtly to pay off what we owe, and to become once more a free, rich, happy, and flouriſhing people.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, December 22. 1722. N°. 108.

Inquiry into the ſource of moral virtues.

SIR,

MOrality, or moral virtues, are certain rules of mutual convenience or indulgence, conducive or neceſſary to the well-being of ſociety. Moſt of theſe are obvious; for every man knows what he deſires himſelf; which is, to be free from oppreſſion, and the inſults of others, and to enjoy the fruits of his own acquiſitions, ariſing from his labour or invention. And ſince he can have no reaſon to expect this indulgence to himſelf, unleſs he allow it to others, who have equal reaſon to expect it from him, it is the common intereſt of all, who unite together in the ſame ſociety, to eſtabliſh ſuch rules and maxims for their mutual preſervation, that no man can oppreſs or injure another, without ſuffering by it himſelf. As far as theſe rules are diſcoverable by the light of reaſon, or that portion of un-

derſtanding, which moſt, or all men have, they are called morality: but when they are the productions of deeper thought, or the inventions only of men of greater ſagacity, they are called political knowledge. But as men are often in ſuch a ſituation in reſpect of one another, that the ſtronger can oppreſs the weaker, without any fear of having the injury returned; and moſt men will purſue their own perſonal advantage independently of all other men; therefore almighty God, in compaſſion to mankind, has annexed rewards and puniſhments to the obſervance or non-obſervance of theſe rules: the belief of which, and a practice purſuant to it, is called religion.

I have often read, with pleaſure, pretty ſpeculative diſcourſes upon the intrinſic excellence of virtue, and of its having a real exiſtence independent of human conſiderations, or worldly relations: but when I have been able to forget, or lay aſide the dalliances and amuſements of fancy, and the beautiful turns of expreſſion, I could conſider it philoſophically, only as an empty ſound, when detached and ſeparated from natural, national, or religious politics; unleſs in ſome few inſtances, where conſtitution, and innate tenderneſs, engage men to pity others in eaſe to themſelves, which is called humanity.

All cardinal and private virtues are branches of theſe general politics. Fortitude enables us to defend ourſelves and others. Compaſſion is a fellow feeling of calamities which we may ſuffer ourſelves; and it is evident that people feel them in proportion, as they are likely to ſuffer the ſame or the like calamities. Charity obliges us to give that relief to others, which we, our friends, or relations, may want for ourſelves. And temperance and frugality are neceſſary to the preſervation of our bodies and eſtates, and being uſeful members of ſociety. I freely confeſs, that for my part I can find out no other motives in myſelf, or others, for theſe affections, or actions, except conſtitu-

tion, oſtentation, or temporal or religious politics, which are, in other words, our preſent or eternal intereſts; and I ſhall own myſelf beholden to any elſe who can find out any other; for there cannot be too many motives for a virtuous life.

How far the ſyſtematical gentlemen will agree with me in this ſpeculative philoſophy, I do not know, nor ſhall think myſelf much concerned to enquire; but it is certain that their practice, and many of the doctrines which they teach, confirm what I have ſaid. I think that all mankind, except the *Bramins*, and tranſmigrators of ſouls in the *Eaſt*, agree, that we may deſtroy other animals for food and convenience, and ſometimes for pleaſure, or to prevent but any trifling prejudice, to ourſelves; though they have the ſame, or very near the ſame, organizations as we have, equal or greater ſenſations of pleaſure and pain, and many of them ſagacity and reaſoning enough to overreach and circumvent us; nor are they guilty of any other crime, than that of acting according to their natures, and preſerving their beings by ſuch food as is neceſſary to their exiſtence.

Indeed, as things ſtand at preſent, though we had not revelation for it, we may be very ſure that God Almighty has given us dominion over other creatures, becauſe he has actually given us the power, in a good meaſure, to deſtroy and preſerve them, as far as they may be hurtful or uſeful to us; and therefore we think them not objects of moral duties, becauſe we can hurt them, and they cannot make reprizals, or equal reprizals, upon us: but if almighty God had thought fit to have given to lions and tygers the uſe of ſpeech, length of life to have gained more experience, and had formed their claws and hands to write and communicate that experience, and by ſuch means had enabled them to have formed themſelves into ſocieties for mutual defence againſt mankind (whom they could quickly have deſtroyed, though

only by confining and ſtarving them in incloſures and fortifications :) I ſay, in ſuch a circumſtance of affairs, will any man affirm, that it would not have been our intereſt and duty to have treated them with morality and ſocial offices? I doubt, in ſuch a caſe, they would have told us, and have made us feel too, that they were not made only for our uſe.

I will ſuppoſe, for once, a dialogue between his holineſs and a lion, ſince poets and ſome others have informed us, that beaſts have ſpoken formerly; and I am ſure that they were never more concerned to ſpeak than upon the preſent occaſion.

Pope. Thou art an ugly four footed monſter, and thou liveſt upon the deſtruction of thy fellow animals.

Lyon. I am as nature has made me, which has given me many faculties beyond yourſelf. I have more courage, more ſtrength, more activity, and better ſenſes of ſeeing, hearing, *&c.* than you have: nor do I deſtroy the hundredth part of my fellow-animals in compariſon with thoſe that you deſtroy. I never deſtroy my own ſpecies, unleſs I am provoked; but you deſtroy yours for pride, vanity, luxury, envy, covetouſneſs, and ambition.

Pope. But thou art a great gormandizer, and eateſt up all our victuals, which was deſigned for the uſe of men only; and therefore thou oughteſt to be exterminated.

Lyon. Nature, which gave me life, deſigned me the means of living; and ſhe has given me claws and teeth for that purpoſe, namely, to defend myſelf againſt ſome animals, and to kill and eat others for my ſuſtenance; and, amongſt the reſt, your reverence, if I cannot get younger and better food. You men, indeed, may eat and live comfortably upon the fruits of trees, and the herbs and corn of the field; but

we are ſo formed, as to receive ſupport and nouriſh-
ment only from the fleſh of other animals.

Pope. Sirrah, thou haſt no ſoul.

Lyon. The greater is my misfortune. However, I have a mind and body, and have the more reaſon to take care of them, having nothing elſe to take care of; and you ought the leſs to deprive and rob me of the little advantages which nature has given me, you who enjoy ſo much greater yourſelf.

Pope. The earth was given to the ſaints; for (as St. *Auſtin* very judiciouſly obſerves) *the wicked have right to nothing, and the godly to all things*; and thou art certainly a very wicked animal, and no true be-liever.

Lyon. I have heard indeed before, that ſuch reaſonings will paſs amongſt you men, who have faculties to reaſon yourſelves out of reaſon; but we beaſts know better things: for having nothing but our ſenſes to truſt to, and wanting the capacities to diſtinguiſh ourſelves out of them, we cannot be perſuaded to believe, that thoſe who have no more honeſty and leſs underſtanding than their neighbours, have a right to their goods, and to ſtarve them, by pretending to believe what the others do not underſtand; therefore, worthy doctor, you ſhall catch no gudgeons here you may brew as you bake amongſt one another, but you will find no ſuch bubbles amongſt us.

Pope. Thou art a ſnivelling ſaucy jackanapes, and a great rogue and murderer, and I wiſh thou hadſt a ſoul that I might damn it, and ſend thee to the devil.

Lyon. Not half ſo great a rogue as yourſelf, good doctor, nor ſo great a murderer. You do more miſchief in a year than all the lyons in the world did ſince the creation. We kill only with our teeth and claws; you uſe a thouſand inſtruments of death and deſtruction. We kill ſingle animals; you kill by wholeſale, and deſtroy hecatombs at once. We kill for food and neceſſity; you kill for ſport and paſtime, out

wantonneſs, and to do yourſelves no good. In fine, you murder or oppreſs all other animals, and one another too.

Pope. Raſcal, thou art made for my uſe, and I will make thee know it, and order thee to be immediately knocked on the head for thy ſkin, thou varlet, and beaſt of ſatan.

Lyon. I will try that preſently.

Pope. (*Croſſing himſelf.*) Jeſu! Maria!

(*Exit in haſte.*)

Lyon. Farewell, thou lord of the creation, and ſovereign of the univerſe.

I believe I may venture to ſay, if lyons could ſpeak, that they would talk at this rate, and his holineſs but little better. But to return to my ſubject.

I have ſaid, That all, or moſt of mankind, act upon the former principles, and, without the motives of religion, can find out no reaſon to hope that they ſhould ever act otherwiſe; and I am ſorry to ſay, that religion itſelf has yet wanted power enough to influence them (for the moſt part) to contrary ſentiments or actions. What nation or ſociety does not oppreſs another, when they can do it with ſecurity, without fear of retaliation, or of being affected by it in their own intereſts, and their correſpondence with other ſtates? It is plain that all ſocial duties are here at an end; for what is called the law of nations, are only rules of mutual intercourſe with one another, without which they could have no intercourſe at all, but muſt be in conſtant courſe of war and depredation; and therefore whenever any ſtate is in no condition to repel injuries, nor can have protection from any other, who are concerned to preſerve them, conſtant experience ſhews us, that they become the prey of a greater, who think themſelves obliged to keep no meaſures with them, nor want pretences from religion or their own intereſts to oppreſs them. Fa-

ther *Auſtin's* diſtinction is always at hand when they can get no better; and for the moſt part (if not always) they find men of reverence to thank God for their roguery.

Since therefore men ever have, and, I doubt, ever will act upon theſe motives, they ought not to be amuſed by the play of words, and the ſallies of imagination, whilſt deſigning men pick their pockets; but ought to eſtabliſh their happineſs, by wiſe precautions, and upon ſolid maxims, and, by prudent and fixed laws, make it all mens intereſt to be honeſt; without which, I doubt, few men will be ſo.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, December 29. 1722. N°. 109.

Inquiry into the origin of good and evil.

SIR,

WE have been long confounded about the origin of good and evil, or, in other words, of virtue and vice. The opinion of ſome is, that virtue is a ſort of real being, and ſubſiſts in its own nature. Others make it to conſiſt in rules and cautions, given us by the ſupreme Being for our conduct here on earth, aud either implanted in our natures, or conveyed to us by revelation. A late philoſopher fetches it from the will and commands of the civil magiſtrate. But, for my own part, I muſt conceive it only as a compound of the two laſt; namely, a relation of mens actions to one another, either dictated by rea-

ſon, by the precepts of heaven, or the commands of the ſovereign, acting according to his duty.

It is the misfortune of thoſe public-ſpirited and acute gentlemen, who have obliged the world with ſyſtems, that they always make common ſenſe truckle to them; and when they are bewildered, and entangled amongſt briars and thorns, never go back the way that they got in, but reſolve to ſcramble through the brake, leap over hedge and ditch, to get into their old road, and ſo for the moſt part ſcratch themſelves from head to foot, and ſometimes break their necks into the bargain. They never look back, and examine whether their ſyſtem be true or falſe, but ſet themſelves to work to prove it at all adventures: they are determined to ſolve all contradictions, and grow very angry with all who are not ſo clear-ſighted as themſelves.

This ſeems to me to be the caſe in the preſent queſtion. The common light of reaſon has told all mankind, that there cannot be an effect without a cauſe; and that every cauſe muſt be an effect of ſome ſuperior cauſe; till they come to the laſt of all, which can be no otherwiſe than ſelf-exiſtent, that is, muſt have exiſted from all eternity. Some ſects of philoſophers have thought this firſt cauſe to be only pure matter, not being able to conceive that any thing can be made out of nothing, or can be annihilated again afterwards; and they ſuppoſe that matter has been in eternal motion, and has the ſeeds of animals, vegetables, and of every thing elſe within itſelf, and by its conſtant motion and revolutions gives them life, duration, and at laſt death; and throws them into the womb of nature again to riſe up in new ſhapes.

But others, by far the greateſt part of mankind, are not able by this dark ſyſtem to account for the exquiſite contrivance and conſummate wiſdom ſhewn in the formation of animals and vegetables, in the

regular and ſtupendous ſtructure and circulation of the heavenly bodies, and of the earth, no more than for the operations of our own minds. They therefore moſt reaſonably judge, that when ſo much contrivance is neceſſary to bring about our own little deſigns; the great machine of heaven and earth, and the infinite and admirable ſyſtems in it, could not be the ſpontaneous or neceſſary productions of blind matter. Thence they determine, that the firſt being muſt have ſuitable wiſdom to contrive and execute theſe great and amazing works.

But theſe latter are not ſo well agreed among themſelves about the manner of acting, or the operations of this being. For ſome think that he muſt act from the neceſſity of his own nature: for, ſince his being is neceſſary, they think that his will and attributes (which arts parts of his being, eſſential to it, and inſeparable from it) and conſequently his actions, which are reſults of that will, and of thoſe attributes, muſt be neceſſary too. They cannot conceive how a being, who has the principles and cauſes of all things within itſelf, could exiſt without haveing ſeen every thing intuitively from all eternity; a conſideration which muſt exclude from his actions all choice and preference, as they imply doubt and deliberation.

They cannot apprehend how reaſon and wiſdom can be analagous in him to what are called by the ſame names in men: for judgment in them, as far as it regards their own voluntary operations, is only the balance of the conveniences or inconveniences which will reſult from their own or others thoughts or actions, as they have relation to beings or events out of their power, and which depend upon other cauſes: but if a being can have no cauſes without itſelf, but produces every thing by its own energy and power, ſees all things at once, and cannot err, as men may, nor conſequently deliberate and debate with itſelf,

they think that it muſt act ſingly, and in one way only; and where there is no choice, or, which is the ſame thing, but one choice, they conceive that there is always neceſſity.

But the contrary is much the more orthodox and religious opinion, and has been held by far the greateſt and beſt part of mankind in all ages, before and without revelation: they have thought that this laſt opinion bordered too much upon the material ſyſtem, as being able to ſee but little difference in the operations of a being acting neceſſarily, and the productions of blind matter conſtantly in action, and acting mechanically; ſince the effect is ſuppoſed to be the ſame, though wiſdom and contrivance, or what we are forced to call by thoſe names for want of another, be the firſt ſpring, or chief wheel of the machine, or one link of the chain of cauſes: and therefore men have condemned this opinion as impious and atheiſtical.

Indeed the other ſpeculations have been only the wild and babbling notions of fairy philoſophers, or of enthuſiaſtic and viſionary madmen; for all prudent and modeſt men pretend to know no more of this being, without revelation, than that he is wiſe, good, and powerful, and made all things; and do not preſume farther to enquire into the *modus* of his exiſtence and operations. However, their own intereſt and curioſity were ſo much concerned to gueſs at his deſigns and motives in placing them here, thas it was impoſſible they could be otherwiſe than ſolicitous and inquiſitive about it; and finding, or fancying themſelves to be the moſt valuable part of the whole, it was very natural for them to believe, that all was made for their ſakes; and that their happineſs was the only or chief view of the ſupreme Being.

With theſe thoughts about him, every man knowing what he had a mind to have himſelf, and what he believed would conſtitute his own happineſs, and

not being able to attain it without making the ſame allowance to other people; men agreed upon equal rules of mutual convenience and protection, and finding theſe rules dictated to them by impartial reaſon, they juſtly believed that they were implanted within them by the deity; and as they expected themſelves returns of gratitude or applauſe for benefits conferred by them upon others, they thought the ſame were due to the original Being who gave them life, and every thing elſe which they enjoyed: and this is called natural religion.

But as the motive, which men had to enter into this equal agreement, was their own pleaſure and ſecurity, which moſt or all men prefer before the advantage of others, ſo they often found themſelves in a condition, by ſuperior power, will, and abilities, to circumvent thoſe who had leſs than themſelves, and either by artful confederacies, impoſtures, or by downright force, to oppreſs them; and in order to it, have invented ſyſtems or partial ſchemes of ſeparate advantage, and have annexed ſuitable promiſes or menaces to them: all which they have pretended to receive from this divine being. They aſſumed to have communication with him, and to know his will, and denounced his anger againſt all who would not take their word, and let them do by his authority what they would never have been permitted to do by any other; and the herd not daring to oppoſe them, or not knowing how, have acquieſced to their tales, and come in time to believe them. From hence ſprang all the follies and roguery of the Heathen and Jewiſh prieſts, and all the falſe religions in the world; with all the perſecutions, devaſtations, and maſſacres cauſed by them; which were all heterogeneous engraftments upon natural religion.

Almighty God thought it proper therefore at laſt to communicate himſelf again to man, and by immediate revelation to confirm what he at firſt implanted

in all mens minds, and what was eradicated thence by deluſion and impoſture; but though he thought it not neceſſary to tell us more than we were concerned to know, namely, to do our duty to himſelf and to one another, yet we will ſtill be prying into his ſecrets, and ſifting into the cauſes of his original and eternal degrees, which are certainly juſt and reaſonable, though we neither now his reaſons, nor could judge of them, if we did.

From hence ariſes this diſpute concerning the origin of good and evil, amongſt a thouſand others. For, our vanity inducing us to fancy ourſelves the ſole objects of his providence, and being ſure that we receive our beings from him, and conſequently our ſenſations, affections, and appetites, which are parts of them, and which evidently depend either mediately or immediately, upon cauſes without us, and ſeeing at the ſame time, that many things happen in the world ſeemingly againſt his revealed will, which he could prevent if he thought fit; we either recur to the intrigues of a contrary being, whoſe buſineſs it is to thwart his deſigns, and diſappoint his providence, or elſe account for it by a malignity in human nature, more prone to do evil than good, without conſidering from whence we had that nature; for if the malignity in it be greater than precepts, examples, or exhortations can remove, the heavier ſcale muſt weigh down.

How much more modeſt and reaſonable would it be to argue, That moral good and evil in this world, are only relations of our actions to the ſupreme Being, and to one other, and would be nothing here below, if there were no men? That no event can happen in the univerſe but what muſt have cauſes ſtrong enough to produce it? That all cauſes muſt firſt or laſt center in the ſupreme cauſe, who, from the exiſtence of his own nature, muſt

always do what is beſt, and all his actions muſt be inſtantaneous emanations of himſelf? He ſees all things at one view, and nothing can happen without his leave and permiſſion, and without his giveing power enough to have it affected: when therefore we ſee any thing which ſeems to contradict the images which we have preſumed to form about his eſſence, or the attributes which we beſtow upon him (which images and attributes are, for the moſt part, borrowed from what we think moſt valuable amongſt ourſelves) we ought to ſuſpect our own ignorance, to know that we want appetites to fathom infinite wiſdom, and to reſt aſſured that all things conduce to the ends and deſigns of his providence, who always chooſes the beſt means to bring them about.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, January 5. 1722. N°. 110.

Of liberty and neceſſity.

SIR,

I HAVE already ſaid, that I could conſider good and evil only as in relation to mens actions to one another, or to the ſupreme Being; in which actions they can have for their end their own intereſt alone, in preſent or futurity. But when I conſider theſe ideas in regard to God, I muſt conſider them as objects of his will, which can alone conſtitute right or wrong, though they may ſometimes not quadrate with the notions that we form of juſtice amongſt one another, and which are only prudent rules for our own ſeparate convenience, and take in no part of the creation but ourſelves. We cannot enter into the *rationale* of God's puniſhing all mankind for the ſin of their firſt parents, which they could not help; nor for his puniſhing all *Iſrael* with a peſtilence for the private ſin of *David*, which, without doubt, many of them condemned; nor for his bringing plagues upon the *Egyptians*, becauſe he had hardened *Pharaoh*'s heart; no more than for his deſtroying all mankind at the deluge, for crimes which he could have prevented; and multitudes of the like inſtances in holy writ beſides, which we cannot account for by our weak reaſonings, (which have for their object only our own advantage). But we are very ſure that theſe things were done, and rightly done; and all conduced to ſome ſuperior, wiſe, and juſt end. Almighty God judges of the whole of things, and

we only of them as they regard ourſelves: the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe is his care; and all other inferior beings muſt be ſubordinate to the intereſts of this great one, muſt all contribute, in their ſeveral ſtations and actions, to bring about at laſt the grand purpoſes of his providence. Infinite millions of animals are born with the morning ſun, and probably ſee old age, and feel the pangs of death, before noon: great numbers of them by their death preſerve life, or give convenience to others who otherwiſe could not live at all, or muſt live upon very ill terms. Vegetables riſe, grow, decay, die again, and get a new reſurrection in other ſhapes. All nature is in perpetual rotation, and working through a thouſand revolutions to its laſt period, and the conſummation of all things, when its great author will know how to make all individuals recompence for the evils which they have ſuffered here, and perhaps give us faculties to know, admire, and glorify his conduct, in thoſe inſtances which may ſeem moſt myſterious to our narrow capacities in this frail ſtate.

But this general and comprehenſive ſyſtem of the univerſe, this honourable conception of the Deity, acquieſcence in, and ſubmiſſion to his will, will not ſquare with the intereſts of particular ſocieties of men, who think themſelves concerned to find out a ſyſtem for themſelves alone; and therefore, to avoid thoſe conſequences (which I can ſee no purpoſes of religion ſerved in avoiding) they compliment away his power, preſcience and general providence, to do reſpect to the notions which they have pleaſed to conceive of his juſtice, which they have thought fit to meaſure by their own intereſts, or what they think beſt for themſelves. They firſt determine what they deſire to have; then call it juſt, and immediately intereſt heaven to bring it about; and finding that it contradicts the experience of mankind, and all the notions that they can conceive of the workings of providence, and the na-

ture of things themſelves (which always operate from cauſe to effect) they ſet themſelves to work to form a new ſcheme at the expence of denying all that they ſee, or can know.

In order to this, they have made man the *primum mobile*, and his mind the firſt principle or ſpring of all his actions, independent of the author of his being, and of all the ſecond cauſes which evidently influence and concur to determine his reſolutions and his actions. They ſay, That almighty God (who has infinite juſtice and power) having given to mankind a rule to act by, and annexed rewards or menaces to the obſervance or non-obſervance of this rule, has given a free, uncontrouled, and impartial liberty to him to determine, without being coerced or reſtrained by any other power to do, or not to do an action, or to chooſe good or evil to himſelf: his juſtice, they ſay, obliges them to this conduct, and his power enables him to execute and to bring it to paſs; and ſo by affecting to do right to one attribute of his, which they cannot underſtand, and which they may poſſibly miſtake, by ſuppoſing it to be different from his will (which alone, as has been ſaid, can conſtitute right or wrong) they take away and rob him of all or moſt of the reſt.

His preſcience or knowledge (from all eternity) of every event which does or can happen in the univerſe, is denied at once; for whatever is contingent in its own nature, and may or may not happen, cannot be foreſeen: for when any being ſees that a thing will be, it muſt be; for it is impoſſible to know that any event will come to paſs, that may not come to paſs; and it is equally impoſſible to foreſee an effect, without knowing the cauſes which produce it. It is no irreverence to the ſupreme Being, to ſay, That he cannot do impoſſibilities, and know things which cannot be known; and it is certain he muſt know all things that can be known, becauſe they depend upon his will.

It reflects upon his wiſdom or power: upon the firſt, as ſuppoſing that he deſires or intends to bring any deſigns or purpoſes to paſs, and yet that he has not choſen the proper methods to attain them; or upon the latter, that he cannot attain them if he would: it intrenches upon his providence and government of the univerſe, by giving part of his power out of his own hands, and by leaving it to the diſcretion of inferior and weak beings, to contradict himſelf, and diſappoint his intentions: and even his juſtice itſelf, to which all the reſt are ſo freely ſacrificed, is attacked upon ſuch reaſons, in charging almighty God with ſeverity in puniſhing crimes committed through weakneſs, want, or predominant appetites, and which he could have prevented by giving others. I do not ſee what has been or can be ſaid to theſe objections more than that we are not to reaſon upon the proceedings of providence, which acts upon motives and maxims far above us, and which are not to be ſcanned by our little rules and ſcanty capacities; and if theſe gentlemen could but be perſuaded to reaſon thus at firſt, they would ſave themſelves the trouble of ſolving perpetual contradictions.

For what can be more evident, than that the actions of man, which ſeem moſt ſpontaneous and free, depend upon his will to do them; and that that will is directed by his reaſoning faculties, which depend again upon the good or ill organizations of his body, upon his complexion, the nature of his education, imbibed prejudices, ſtate of health, predominant paſſions, manner of life, fortuitous reaſonings with others, different kinds of diet, and upon the thouſand of events, ſeeming accidents, and the perpetual objects which encompaſs him, and which every day vary and offer themſelves differently to him; all or moſt of which cauſes, and many more which probably determine him, muſt be confeſſed to be out of his power? Conſtant experience ſhews us, that men different

ly conſtituted, or differently educated, will reaſon differently, and the ſame men in different circumſtances. A man will have different ſentiments about the ſame things, in youth, in middle age, and in dotage, in ſickneſs and in health, in liquor and ſobriety, in wealth and in poverty, in power and out of it; and the faculties of the mind are viſibly altered by phyſic, exerciſe, or diet.

The ſame reaſon which is convincing to one man, appears ridiculous to another, and to the ſame man at different times; and conſequently, his or their actions, which are reſults of thoſe reaſonings, will be different: and we not only all confeſs this, by endeavouring to work upon one another by theſe mediums, but heaven thinks fit to chooſe the ſame; for what elſe can be meant by offering rewards and denouncing puniſhments, but as cauſes to produce the effects deſigned, that is, to ſave thoſe whom almighty God in his deep wiſdom has preordained to bliſs, and to be influenced by thoſe motives? We all confeſs, that no man can do his duty without the grace of God, and whoever has the grace of God will do his duty. It is undoubtedly to be obtained by prayer, but we muſt have grace to pray for it; and I am not ſenſible that almighty God does any other way give his grace, but by offering to us, or by laying in our way ſufficient inducements to obey his will: I am ſure that I can find none elſe in myſelf, or diſcover them in others, whatever the enthuſiaſtic and viſionary gentlemen may do. I doubt much, that what they call grace, is what I call enthuſiaſm, or a ſtrong conceit or perſuaſion of their own godlineſs and communication with the deity.

What ſort of reaſoning then is this, to ſay, that heaven gives every man ſufficient power and motives to chooſe the beſt, which yet prove inſufficient; that he has made every man free to act or not to act by a rule, and yet has placed him in ſuch a ſituation as

to find a thouſand obſtacles in his way to that freedom; and that he has given him a judgment capable to determine right, and opportunities rightly to exerciſe that judgment; yet by making uſe of that judgement and thoſe opportunities, he often judges directly contrary: and all this is to make good a ſyſtem, as yet owned but by a very ſmall part of mankind, and for which I can find no foundation in reaſon and ſcripture?

I muſt beg leave to think it very audacious in a ſmall number of men, to determine the workings of providence by their own narrow ſchemes, at the expence too of the opinions and reaſonings of the greateſt part of the world in all ages. All or moſt of the ſects of philoſophers in *Greece* and *Rome*, held fate or neceſſity, as the ſeveral ſects amongſt the *Jews* did, except the *Eſſenes*, a very ſmall ſect indeed, not exceeding ſome few thouſands. The *Mahometans*, through the world, hold predeſtination: the *Calviniſts*, and ſome other proteſtant ſects, hold it now; and I do not underſtand the articles of the church of *England*, if it be not the orthodox opinion amongſt us; and it certainly was held to be ſo, till a few doctors in king *James* and *Charles* I.'s time advanced the contrary ſyſtem, and who, in the addreſſes of parliament, were always, in thoſe reigns, ranked with the Papiſts for doing ſo; and it is yet undoubtedly the opinion of the common people through the world. However, I do not condemn any one who may think that this is derogatory to the attributes of God, for offering in a modeſt manner his reaſons againſt any dogma ever ſo well eſtabliſhed (which I think is the right of all mankind); yet I could wiſh that he would ſhew the ſame modeſty, in giving other people their liberty of defending the contrary opinion with the ſame good intentions.

The moſt pregnant and uſual objection againſt this doctrine is, That if men are predeſtinated to

eternal bliſs, or miſery, their own endeavours are uſeleſs, and they can have no motives to prefer good before evil; which, I confeſs, will always be the reaſonings of men who are predeſtinated to the latter (if it be poſſible to ſuppoſe that there can be any ſuch); but thoſe who are determined to the firſt, will always believe, that God takes proper means to attain his ends, and that he deſigns to ſave men by the medium of good works, and of obeying his will; and this conviction will be an adequate cauſe to produce ſuch obedience in thoſe who are deſtined to happineſs. If the end be predeſtinated, the means muſt be predeſtinated too. If a man be to die in war, he muſt meet an enemy; if he be to be drowned, he muſt come within the reach of water; or if he be to be ſtarved, he muſt not know how to come at any victuals, or have no mind to eat them, or ſtomach to digeſt them.

For my own part, I dare not believe, that the all-good, all-wiſe, and moſt merciful God, has determined any of his creatures to endleſs miſery, by creating and forming them with ſuch appetites and paſſions as naturally and neceſſarily produce it; tho' I think it to be fully conſiſtent with his power, goodneſs, and juſtice, to give inclinations with may lead and entitle us to happineſs. And, as I conceive that there is nothing in the holy ſcriptures which expreſly decides this difficulty, as I may poſſibly ſhew hereafter; ſo I ſhall not preſume to ſearch too narrowly into the ſecret diſpenſations of providence, or to pronounce any thing dogmatically concerning his manner of governing the univerſe, more than that he cannot make his creatures miſerable without juſt and adequate reaſons. And therefore, ſince we find in fact, that many of them are ſo in this ſtate, we muſt account for this, by mediums aggreeable to his indiſputed attributes, or own that we cannot account for it at all, though it be unqueſtionably juſt in itſelf. All means will probably

conduce in the end to impartial and univerſal good; and whatever, or how many ſtates ſoever of probation we may paſs through, yet I hope, that the mercies of God, and the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, will at laſt exceed and preponderate the frailties, miſtakes, and temporary tranſgreſſions of weak and mortal men; all which I ſhall endeavour, in time, to ſhew from ſcripture and reaſon: the former of which, in my opinion, is too generally miſtaken or perverted, to ſignify what it does not intend; by ſtraining ſome paſſages beyond their literal and genuine ſignification, by explaining others too literally, and by not making due allowances to the manner of ſpeaking uſed amongſt the eaſtern nations, which was very often, if not moſt commonly, in hyperboles, and other figures and allegories. But more of this hereafter; when I dare promiſe to deſerve the pardon of every candid perſon, whom I cannot convince.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, January 12. 1722. N°. III.

The ſame ſubject continued.

SIR,

AS all the ideas or images of the brain muſt be cauſed originally by impreſſions of objects without us, ſo we can reaſon upon no other. A man born blind can have no image of light or colours; nor one who has been always deaf, of ſounds; whatever deſcriptions are given him of them. There are many creatures in the world who want ſome organs of ſenſe which we have, and probably there are others in the univerſe which have many that we want: and ſuch beings, if there be any ſuch, muſt know many things of which we have no conception; and muſt judge of other things, of which we have a more partial conception, in different lights from what we are capable of judging. It is not certain that any two men ſee colours in the ſame lights; and it is moſt certain, that the ſame men at different times, according to the good or evil diſpoſition of their organs, ſee them in various ones, and conſequently their ratiocinations upon them will be different; which experience ſhews us to be true in diſtempered, enthuſiaſtic, or melancholy men.

Our ſenſes are evidently adapted to take in only finite or limited beings; nor are we capable of conceiving their exiſtence, otherwiſe than by the mediums of extention and ſolidity. The mind finds that it ſees, hears, taſtes, ſmells, and feels, which is its manner of firſt conceiving things, or in other words,

is the *modus* in which objects affect it; and it can reason no farther upon them, than according to those impressions: so that it is conversant only about the film or out side of bodies, and knows nothing of their internal contexture, or how they perform their operations; and consequently can affirm or deny nothing about them, but according to the perceptions which it has. When it goes further, or attempts to go further, it rambles in the dark, wades out of its depth, and must rave about *non-entities*, or, which is the same thing to us, about what we do or can know nothing of, or nothing to the purpose; and yet these things, or these nothings, have employed the leisure, speculations, and pens of many very learned men, as if true wisdom consisted in knowing what we want faculties to know.

All that we can know of infinity, eternity *&c.* is, That we can know little or nothing about them. We must understand what we mean by the terms, or else we could not use them, or must use them impertinently. We perfectly apprehend what we mean by duration, which is our conception of the continuance of things, and contains in it a *terminus a quo* to a *terminus ad quem*, that is, *it hath certain boundaries in our imaginations*, and we can multiply this conception backwards and forwards, without ever being able to come to the end of it, and so may be sure that it is without end; and then the imagination is lost and can go no further. We know that all extended bodies are divisible, and can never be divided so often, but they may be divided farther; and therefore say justly, they are infinitely divisible; nor can any body be so large or long, as to come to the end of extension. And therefore we may safely affirm, That extension or space (which is our conception of the existence and immensity of bodies) is infinite. But then we know no other properties of infinity or eternity, but by the help of these conceptions, which

being limited and finite, cannot meaſure what is infinite and eternal; that is, we cannot comprehend what is incomprehenſible to any being which is not infinite and eternal too, and whoſe exiſtence is not as unmeaſurable by time and place, as thoſe images are.

All the diſputes, ſeeming contradictions, and abſurdities, which offer themſelves when we think or talk of infinity or eternity, ariſe from our applying our thoughts, which are confined to finite beings, and our words, which are confined to convey finite conceptions, to ſubjects which are infinite, and of which we can have no adequate ideas that can be expreſſed by ſounds. Nothing is more true in finite beings, than that the whole muſt conſiſt of all its parts; but in infinity there is no whole, nor conſequently parts. Where there is no beginning, nor any end, there can be no middle; and where there is no whole, there can be no half. Time or ſpace in theory are not diviſible, becauſe nothing but time or ſpace can divide them, and then they are not divided; yet we know that time or ſpace, as they have relation to finite beings, and our exiſtence of duration, may be divided, and are ſo; and therefore the riddles made about them are owing to the narrowneſs of our capacities, and to our endeavouring to apply ſuch conceptions as we have, to objects of which we can have no conception; which is, in effect, to attempt to hear ſights, and ſee ſounds.

It is the ſame thing to pretend to define eternity, or comprehend infinity; which is, to put limits and ends to what has no limits and ends, and to comprehend what is incomprehenſible; which conceptions contradict one another, and cannot ſtand together in a propoſition. It is the ſame to talk of infinite number, for all number muſt be finite.

How vain therefore is it to form any propoſitions or reaſonings beyond our images, or to make poſitive deductions from premiſes wholly negative! From hence I conceive proceed all the fairy diſputes about the modus of God's exiſting; what are his attributes and manner of acting; whether *ſpace is a real being*, or only *the order of things amongſt themſelves*; whether it is the *ſenſorium of God*; or, what is *the meaning of the word ſenſorium:* which controverſies have taken up great part of the time of two very learned men, that has been ſpent, as I think, moſtly in ſhewing that they know nothing of the matter, or next to nothing. I am ſure that I have learned nothing from their elucidations, whatever others may have done.

All that God almighty has thought fit to tell us about the modus of his exiſtence, is, *I am that I am.* And this we ſhould have known, if he had not told it to us; and I believe it is all that we ever ſhall know, till he gives us other faculties. We are very ſure that God *is*; that ſome being muſt have exiſted before any limitation of time, and independent of every other being; and conſequently muſt have exiſted neceſſarily, or what we call eternally. It is exceeding probable, and, I think, certain, that there cannot be two or more ſuch beings as are neceſſary and ſelf exiſting; and if but one, then that muſt be the cauſe of all the reſt, or, which is the ſame thing, muſt produce all the reſt; which mediately or immediately muſt derive their exiſtence, faculties, ſenſations, capacities, powers of action, and conſequently their actions themſelves, from him.

But by what energy or power he effects this, we are wholly ignorant; and though the wits of learned men have been employed in ſolving this intricate queſtion for many thouſand years, yet the world is now juſt as wiſe as when they firſt ſet out; and there-

fore I humbly think it high time to give over, and to content ourſelves with knowing all that we can know, that is, that we can know nothing about it; and, conſequently, ought not to form propoſitions about God's eſſence, or his attributes, concerning his eternity, his infinity, the modus or the ſenſorium of his exiſtence, or concerning his ways or motives for making or governing the univerſe: for I conceive that in theſe queſtions we muſt walk wholly in the dark; like travellers who are out of their way, the farther they go, the greater is their journey home again.

However, I think that we are left at liberty to reaſon about things which we do know; and therefore may with great aſſurance ſay, That God made all things, and that every thing depends immediately, or, by ſecond cauſes, mediately, upon him; and that it is abſolutely impoſſible that they can do otherwiſe.

I do not ſee how a greater abſurdity can be put together in words, than that one being ſhall make another, create the matter of which it was made, give it all the faculties that it has, all its capacities of reaſoning, powers of action, means of thinking, and preſent it with all its objects for thinking, yet leave it at liberty to act againſt them all; which I conceive is a downright impoſſibility. A pair of ſcales perfectly poiſed cannot ponderate on either ſide; and a man who has no motives to act, will not act at all. Every thing muſt be at reſt which has no force to impel it: but as the laſt ſtraw breaks the horſe's back, or a ſingle ſand will turn the beam of ſcales which hold weights as heavy as the world; ſo, without doubt, as minute cauſes may determine the actions of men, which neither others nor they themſelves are ſenſible of. But certainly ſomething muſt determine them, or elſe they could not be determined; and it is nothing to the purpoſe to ſay, that their choice

determines them, if ſomething elſe muſt determine that choice: for, let it be what it will, the effect muſt be neceſſary. To ſay, that a man has a power to act, without any motives or impulſe to act, ſeems to me to be a direct blunder. A man cannot have a will to act againſt his will; and if he has a will to do it, ſomething muſt determine that will; and, whatever it is, muſt be his cauſe of action, and will produce the action; and that can only be the appearance of advantage ariſing from it; and thoſe appearances muſt ariſe from the ſeeming relations of objects to one another, or to himſelf; which relations are not in his diſpoſal, nor conſequently are his actions, in the ſenſe contended for.

If a man can do a voluntary action without a deſign to do it, and without any reaſon or motive for doing it, than matter without *underſtanding* has a ſelf-moving power; which is atheiſm with a witneſs; though I will not, according to laudable cuſtom, call the aſſertors of it atheiſts, becauſe they may not ſee the conſequence; for, take away *underſtanding*, and there can be nothing left but matter: and *underſtanding* is certainly taken away, when a being has no reaſon for acting; but when he has a reaſon, that reaſon is the cauſe, or co-cauſe of the action.

The queſtion therefore is not, Whether a man can do what he has a mind to do? but, Whether he can do what he has no mind to do? That is, if his inclinations concur with his reaſonings, his appearing intereſts, and his predominant paſſions, whether all together will not form his reſolutions, and make him act purſuant to them, whilſt thoſe motives continue? One may as well ſay, that a man can avoid ſeeing, when an object ſtrikes the eye, or hearing, when it hits the ear, as to believe that he can decline thinking, when the motion cauſed by the object reaches

the brain, or where-ever elſe the ſeat of thinking is, unleſs ſome other more powerful object obſtruct or divert it in its journey, or afterwards; and when he does think, he muſt think as he can, that is, according as objects from without are repreſented by their images to him within; or, in other words, as they act upon the animal ſpirits, or whatever elſe it is which ſets the machine in motion. A man cannot avoid feeling pain or ſickneſs, which are ſenſations of the mind, nor chooſe whether he will feel them or not; nor can he avoid deſiring to get rid of them, unleſs ſome ſtronger motives determine him, which promiſe him greater advantages than he ſuffers inconveniences.

But here the metaphyſical gentlemen diſtinguiſh between the motions of the body and thoſe of the mind: they own, that the pulſe will beat, the nerves, arteries, muſcles, and blood, will move, whether we will or not; and is it not as evident, that, according as they move or beat, the mind receives alteration, is enlarged or leſſened, improved or impaired, and determined in many of its reſolutions? A man ſick, or in pain, will ſend for or go to a phyſician or ſurgeon, which draws after it a train of other reſolutions or actions; and, according to the ſucceſs which he meets with, may alter the whole ſcheme of his life, and of his after-thinking, and very often of his capacity of thinking. As our bodies are healthy or diſordered, we are courageous, jealous, fearful, enthuſiaſtic, or melancholy, and reaſon differently, and act differently: and is it not then choice philoſophy, to ſay, that the contexture and diſpoſition of our bodies (which were not of our own making) often direct or influence the reſolutions of our mind, and yet are not the cauſes of thoſe reſolutions; and to go on to ſuppoſe, that our minds act independently of them, as well as of all other cauſes? For

it is ridiculous to ſay, that though the mind has a principle of ſelf motion, yet other cauſes co-operate to produce the action; for if any other cauſe make it do what it would not otherwiſe do, that is the cauſe or co-cauſe of the action produced, to all the purpoſes of this argument; nor can I gueſs at any other argument (that can be made uſe of to ſhew, that ſecond cauſes can produce part of the action, or co-operate in producing it) which can prove them incapable to produce the whole. The moſt that can be pretended is, that there is a poſſibility that it may be ſo; but I conceive that no reaſon can be aſſigned why it may not be otherwiſe. But whether it be ſo or not, I think I have ſhewn, that the mind of man can be only a ſecondary cauſe, muſt be acted upon by other cauſes; that God alone is the firſt cauſe or principle of all motion; and that the actions of all other beings are neceſſarily dependent upon Him.

A very great and juſtly celebrated author, who ſuppoſes that a man has a ſelf-moving power, and, I think, only ſuppoſes it, endeavours to determine the queſtion, by reducing his opponents to account for what no man yet has accounted for, and yet every man ſees to be true: he ſays, **If the reaſons and motives upon which a man acts be the immediate and efficient cauſe of the action, then either abſtract notions (as all reaſons and motives are) are in themſelves ſubſtances, or elſe that which has no real ſubſiſtence can put a body in motion.*

Now the force of this reaſoning conſiſts in putting his adverſary upon ſhewing how the mind acts upon the body, or the body upon the mind; and he he would have done kindly to have let us into that

* Dr. Clarke's remarks upon a philoſophical enquiry concerning human liberty. P. 43.

ſecret himſelf. When he is ſo obliging to inform the world, how the eye ſees, the ear hears, or the palate taſtes, I dare undertake to ſolve any other difficulty which he propoſes. We find, by experience, that when an object ſtrikes the eye, it cauſes that ſenſation which we call ſeeing; and a man cannot then avoid ſeeing, no more than in other circumſtances he can avoid feeling pain and ſickneſs, which are undoubtedly actions of the mind; or, if he chooſe another manner of expreſſion, we will call them paſſions, (and indeed they are both; *viz.* the latter, as they are impelled by other cauſes; and the former, as they produce future events: and it ſeems very trifling to me, in ſo great a man, to ſpend ſo many pages about the propriety of a word, when the meaning intended to be conveyed by it was fully underſtood:) but certainly they are ſpecies of thinking, or, if he pleaſes, abſtract notions, which often put a body in motion, as all thinking undoubtedly does: but how theſe effects are produced, we are wholly in the dark.

We ſee and feel, that deſires and fears, that abſtract notions or images of the brain, alter the diſpoſition of the whole fabric, and often deſtroy the contexture of it. We ſee, that the longings of women with child will ſtamp impreſſions upon the fœtus, which longings are certainly abſtract notions; and if theſe are not corporeal, then we muſt confeſs, that what is not ſo will affect what is: for as to his words *ſubſtance* and *ſubſiſtence*, I ſhall not pretend to underſtand them without a farther explanation, if he mean any thing by them beſides body. Methinks, this truly worthy and learned author ſhould not call upon another to ſolve what no man is more capable of ſolving than himſelf. I freely own my ignorance; and, ſince, as I conceive, revelation is ſilent in the matter, am contented to continue in that ignorance.

His other argument is as follows: *If inſenſible matter, or any other being or ſubſtance continually acting upon a man, be the immediate and efficient cauſe of his actions, then the motion of that ſubtle matter or ſubſtance muſt be cauſed by ſome other ſubſtance,* I would chooſe to call it ſome other being, *and the motion of that by ſome other, till at laſt we arrive at a free being.* Now, if, inſtead of the words *free being*, he had ſaid a ſelf-exiſtent being, which I call God, his concluſion had been inevitable; nor do I oppoſe it in the words which he uſes: but, as we may poſſibly differ, and I doubt ſhall do, in the meaning of the words *free being*, ſo I neither aſſent to, nor diſſent from, his propoſition. I mean, by a *free being*, one who has nothing, without itſelf, to determine or controul his actions; which God has not, and I think man has. His concluſion therefore from ſuch premiſes are nothing to me.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, January 19. 1722. No. 112.

Fondneſs for poſterity nothing elſe but ſelf-love. ---------- Such as are friends to public liberty, are the only true lovers of poſterity.

SIR,

MEN, for the ſake of their poſterity, do many things, which, they tell us, they would not do for their own ſakes. The wealth which they do not ſpend, they lay up for poſterity; and their care for poſterity is made a pretence, to juſtify all the acquiſitions that they make of fortune and dominion. But this is falſe reaſoning, though by it they often deceive themſelves and others. They find that they have greater appetites to acquire wealth, than they have to enjoy it; and, not being able to deny, that wealth is only ſo far uſeful as it is enjoyed, and no farther, they cannot juſtify their conduct, but by furniſhing themſelves with a falſe excuſe from their regard for poſterity: as if the affections of men could be ſtronger for others, and for a future race, of whom they know nothing, or for ſuch as perhaps may never exiſt, than for themſelves. Doubtleſs, men are in no circumſtances to be ſeparated from themſelves: they are ever the chief objects of their own tenderneſs and good wiſhes; and the love of poſterity is only ſelf-love continued beyond the grave. We ſee thoſe who have no poſterity, nor the proſpect of any, engaged in the ſame paſſionate and greedy purſuits as thoſe who have; and they often leave their eſtates, when they

die, to thoſe for whom, while they lived, they ſhewed no concern.

This ambition therefore amongſt men, of leaving an illuſtrious poſterity, is mere ſelf love; a paſſion to ſurvive themſelves, and to make a figure after they are dead. To gratify this paſſion, men in all ſtations often take wild and unaccountable courſes: they employ great pains for that which they can never enjoy, and run many dangers for what they will never reap: they drudge and laboriouſly contrive ways to wear themſelves out; they deny themſelves reſt and eaſe, and the comforts of life, that ſome future men, whom they know not, may live in idleneſs and abundance, and perhaps deſpiſe theſe their careful and penurious anceſtors, who painfully provided for them the means of luxury, and enabled them to be inſolent, or debauched, or inſignificant to ſociety. They are indeed generally but even with one another: the deſcendant receives, without gratitude, an eſtate which his anceſtor left him without affection. People would take it greatly amiſs, if you ſuppoſed that they wanted honour for their anceſtors, or regard to their poſterity; and that they themſelves were the only real objects of all this regard, and of that honour. But let them aſk themſelves, Whether they would reſtore to their grandfather again the eſtate which he left them, were he to riſe from the dead and demand it? or, Whether they are willing to part with it to their children before their own death? or, if they ſometimes do, Whether they have not other motives beſides paternal affection? and, Whether their own credit and vanity be not the ſtrongeſt?

Thus men gratify their own tempers, and invent fine falſe reaſons and ſpecious names for what they do. A paſſion for poſterity, is a paſſion for fame; and he who raiſes a family, conſiders his race as hereditary truſtees for his name and grandeur, and as the proper means and channel for perpetuating himſelf.

Nor does he carry about him an appetite more ſelfiſh and perſonal than this. So that all the wicked things which a man does to raiſe a poſterity, are but ſo many infamous ſteps to acquire perſonal fame; which he will never arrive at; and does therefore but labour againſt the very end which he labours for. If his poſterity prove good, it will be remembered to their praiſe, and his ſhame, what a vile anceſtor they had: if they prove bad, it will not be forgot how much they reſemble him; and he become ſtill more odious in his odious deſcendants. Even the wiſeſt men do a fooliſh thing, when they employ great aſſiduity and care to leave a great eſtate to a random heir, whom nature, or chance, or the law gives them. How many immenſe eſtates, gathered in a long courſe of years and application, have we ſeen thrown away ſuddenly upon harlots and ſharpers! The acquiſions of half a century have diſappeared, as it were, in a moment; and the chief remaining monuments of the founder's name were jeſts made upon his memory.

But of all the fooliſh and wicked ways of raiſing families, none equals that of raiſing them upon the ruins of public liberty. The general ſecurity is the only certain ſecurity of particulars; and though deſperate men often find ſafety in public deſtruction, yet they cannot enſure the ſame ſafety to their children, who muſt ſuffer with the reſt in the miſery of all. If great wicked men would conſider this, the world would not be plagued with their ambition. Their poſterity ſcarce ever miſs to reap the bitter fruits of their actions; and the curſe of their iniquities rarely fails to follow them to the third and fourth generation.

The inſtruments of public ruin have generally at once entailed miſery upon their country and upon their own race. Thoſe who were the inſtruments and miniſters of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, and put the commonwealth under their feet, and them above the laws,

did not conſider, that they were not only forging chains for their country, but whetting ſwords againſt their own families, who were all cut off under ſucceeding tyrants: nay, moſt of their children fell early and bloody ſacrifices to the cruel and ſuſpicious ſpirit of *Tiberius*. He began his reign with the murder of young *Agrippa*, whoſe father had, by his courage and conduct in war, eſtabliſhed the tyranny in that houſe. What availed to *Agrippa* all his great riches, his ſumptuous buildings, and even his near alliance with the prince, whoſe daughter he married, but to haſten and magnify the fall and deſtruction of his own houſe? There was not one *Roman* family wickedly enriched by their baſe ſubſerviency to *Auguſtus*, but was ſlaughtered and confiſcated under his ſucceſſors, and moſt of them under his immediate ſucceſſor: nay, their riches and ſplendor were reaſons for deſtroying them. The freed ſlaves of the emperors grew afterwards the firſt men in *Rome*, and had at their mercy the heads and eſtates of the *Patricians*; nor could any of the great *Roman* lords come into any poſt or office in their own empire, but by the pleaſure and permiſſion of thoſe ſlaves, and by ſervile court paid to them.

Would their illuſtrious anceſtors, who were the friends and abettors of *Cæſar*, have done as they did, had they foreſeen this vile ſubſerviency of their poſterity to ſlaves and pathics, and the daily and wanton ſacrifices made of their boaſted blood? And yet was not all this eaſily to be foreſeen? While they were arming him with a power over their country, they ſtripped themſelves of all title to their lives and eſtates. By laying up riches for their families, they did but lay ſnares for the ruin of their families. It grew a crime under theſe tyrants, to be conſpicuous for any thing; and riches, virtue, eloquence, courage, reputation, nay, names and accidents, became crimes. Men, and even women were put to death, for having had illuſ-

trious anceſtors; and ſome, for bearing the fortuitous ſurnames of great men dead an hundred years before.

So that theſe men, who, from the bait of preſent wealth and place, helped to overthrow the conſtitution of that great ſtate, were not only the parricides of their country, but the murderers of their own children and families, by putting a lawleſs dagger into the hands of theſe tyrants to execute theſe murders. They ſold their own blood and poſterity to theſe imperial butchers, whoſe chief employment it was to ſhed it. Theſe miſtaken men might flatter and blind themſelves with a conceit, that they were laying up riches for ages, and entailing honours upon their lateſt race: for what is ſo blind as ambition and avarice? But to their unhappy deſcendants it proved a terrible inheritance of ſervitude, exile, tortures, and maſſacre. What they meant to perpetuate, their fortune and race, were the firſt things ſeized and extirpated. They had been real traitors, to make their children great; and their children were put to death for falſe treaſon, merely for being great. So nearly are puniſhments allied to crimes, and ſo naturally do they riſe from them!

Thus raſh and unadviſed, even as to themſelves and their own families, are thoſe wicked men, who raiſe up an enormous power in their country, becauſe they wear its livery, and are for ſome time indulged by it in their own pride and oppreſſions! and ſo ungrateful is that power when it is raiſed, even to the props and inſtruments that raiſed it! They themſelves are often cruſhed to death by it, and their poſterity certainly are.

This may ſerve, among other arguments, to prove, that men ought to be virtuous, juſt, and good, for their own ſake, and that of their families; and eſpecially great men, whoſe laſting ſecurity is beſt found in the general ſecurity. *Pericles* had long and arbitrarily laviſhed away the public money, to buy crea-

tures, and perpetuate his power; and, dreading to give up his accounts, which the *Athenians* began to call for, thought that he had no other way to avoid doing this juſtice to his country, but by adding another great crime to his paſt crimes. He would venture the ruin of the commonwealth, rather than be accountable to it: he therefore throwed all things into confuſion, raiſed armies, and entered precipitately into a war with *Lacedæmon*; which, after much blood, miſery, and deſolation, ended in the captivity of his country. During that war, he died of the plague, which the war was thought to occaſion; and to his pride and guilt alone were owing the plague, war, and the taking of *Athens*, with the deſolation of the city and territory. Before he died he felt the loſs of his whole family, and of his friends and relations; and, doubtleſs, foreſaw the downfall of his country. What huge and complicated ruin! He would ſee the ſtate ſink, rather than loſe his authority in it: but in the deſtruction of his country his own was juſtly and naturally involved. Where was now the great, the politic, the eloquent, *Pericles?* Where was the proud ſtate which he had long and haughtily ſwayed? Where was his family and race? Where was all his mighty future views? Why, the ſword, the peſtilence, and foreign conqueſt, had, by his own management, put an end to them all: and his wiſdom and profound foreſight proved miſerable and ruinous folly.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, January 26. 1722. N°. 113.

Letter to CATO, *concerning his many adverſaries and anſwerers.*

HORATIUS *to* CATO.

SIR,

I Have had a long ambition to ſay ſomething about you one way or other; but I doubted whether I had beſt write to you, or againſt you. That doubt is now decided; and lo! I, who might have been your adverſary, am become your correſpondent and advocate. I ſend you your apology, and ſhew you the good that you do.

You have, Sir, opened a new ſource of proviſion for the poor, by finding employment for all the wits mendicant about town: and though they ought to reverence your name, as that of another *Sutton*, by whoſe alms they are ſuſtained, yet they vilely fly in your face, and pollute, by their matchleſs ingratitude, the very bread which you generouſly put into their mouths; like maggots, who prey upon the fleſh that they are bred in, till they turn flies, which are vermin with wings. Thus reprobates ſerve heaven; they affront and blaſpheme it, and receive their exiſtence from it. You ſcarce had appeared in the world, but you recalled ſuperannuated authors to life again; and, toothleſs as they were, ſet them a biting, biting at the hand that brought them back from oblivion. Obſolete and deſpairing authors once more violently graſped their pen: the lean and ill-fed candidates for

weekly work from the bookſellers brightened up, and began to be cloathed; and puny poets, and the humble compoſers of ditties, left their tags and ballads, to live upon *Cato;* even thoſe who had got ſome reputation, thought that they had now a lucky opportunity to improve it, by breaking a lance with a champion who drew all eyes upon him, and was yet invincible: and *Cato* became at once the butt of the envious, the mark of the ambitious, and the ſtay and ſupport of the needy.

It is the lot of grandeur: a great man muſt have his poor and impertinent dependents, as well as his uſeful and agreeable: they will ſerve to make up his train. A troop of beggars beſetting his coach, or following it in the ſtreet, do, notwithſtanding their rags, and ill-favoured looks, and diſmal ſtyle, but add to the luſtre of his figure. Jeſters and buffoons, cynics and declaimers, are likewiſe of the ſame uſe, to ſwell his pomp, and divert him, though they be often too free with him. Your retinue, Sir, of this kind is infinite: from the *Cockpit* to *Moorfields* you maintain a wag, an orator, a critic, a poet, or a journaliſt, in every ſtreet, and whole ſwarms in the alleys: nor would I deſire a ſurer patent for fame, than ſuch a ſhoal of calumniators. Their ſcolding is compliment; and while they aim blows at you, they only cudgel themſelves on your behalf: *offendent ſolido;* you know the fable of the viper biting the file.

Envy always praiſes thoſe whom it rails at. It is indeed the only way that foul mouths can make your panegyric, or that of any man. Were they to extol you in earneſt, it would be downright ſcandal and railing; a foul conſpiracy againſt your reputation; like the fawning of a whelp, who, to expreſs his fondneſs, piſſes upon you. If therefore they meant their ſcurrilities and ſatyrical nonſenſe in love, you would have ground for provocation: but to mean them as they do, the contrary way, is their only genuine

way of thanking you for their food. There are many ſorts of folks whoſe calumnies I would be proud of, for the ſame reaſon why I would be aſhamed of their praiſe. A great man at *Athens* was followed from a public aſſembly, all the way home, by a very competent reviler, with a world of panegyrical ill names and acceptable abuſes. The great man took all theſe kind volleys of defamation for ſo many huzza's; and calling to his ſervant, *Go*, ſays he, *take a light, and conduct that worthy gentleman, who has honoured me with all theſe civil acclamations, home to his lodging.*

Now, if this ill tongued *Athenian* had not been in earneſt, his courteſy would have been half loſt. I hope that your numerous anſwerers and revilers mean what they ſay, elſe the obligation is but ſmall; and the ſmaller, becauſe theſe their panegyrics upon you are not at all encouraged. The town is ſtill profoundly ignorant what a ſwarm of retailers, what loud and vehement flatterers, you have in it. They have filled, and do weekly fill, mighty reams of paper in extolling you, *as great a ſecret as the world would make of it*, to uſe the words of a witty author.

Love, they ſay, is blind; and perhaps from hence may be fetched a proof, that theſe your pretended adverſaries are your real friends, ſince in their writings againſt you, that is, for you (for it is all one) they are guided by no other rule of right and wrong, than, whether *Cato* affirms a thing, or denies it; and are always ſure to take the contrary ſide: nay, ſome of them contradict *Cato*, at the expence of their conſtant and favourite opinions. Does not this look like playing booty? by their works one would think that you had the licenſing of your opponents, and, but for their hideous bulk, the overlooking of them: at leaſt, by your profound ſilence, and great meekneſs towards them, you ſeem well pleaſed with their labours. I

dare ſay, you would not change them for any ſet of defamers that could be picked up for you.

A lady of my acquaintance is fond of dogs. She has at preſent two or three little curs, that are very noiſy at every viſitant who is taller than ordinary. The puny vermin have a ſpite at elevation. They once, particularly, made an inceſſant and ſlanderous clamour at a noble lord, well known for his fine perſon, and graceful mein; nor could they be ſtilled. The lady was out of countenance: ſhe told him, that ſhe would have them knocked on the head, or given away: *by no means, madam,* ſays his lordſhip, ſagely enough, *I know you cannot be without dogs, and perhaps the next may bite me.*

I think that I have read you impartially, and cannot ſay that I have found in you any knaviſh reaſoning, any baſe or diſhoneſt principles. You need not therefore be concerned who writes againſt you. However, as I would truſt no body, in any circumſtances, with any ſort of abſolute power, methinks I ſhould not be diſpleaſed to ſee you checked and watched a little in that great authority which you have acquired over the minds of men. No body has ſhewn us better than yourſelf, that all diſcretionary power is liable to be abuſed, and ought not to be truſted, or cautiouſly truſted, to mortal and frail men. For this reaſon, though you be monarch of the preſs, I would have you a limited monarch: as ſuch it becomes you to bear with, and receive kindly, the admonitions and remonſtrances of men of honour and ſenſe, when ſuch differ with you, and it is agreeable to your ſenſe and character, to laugh at the profane contumelies of ſlaves. Your calumniators do your buſineſs. The viper carries within it a remedy for its own poiſon. You are ſecure, by the baſeneſs of their fears, againſt the baſeneſs of their malice; and their malice is harmleſs by being obvious.

There is ſomething diverting in the number and variety of your adverſaries, and in their different views. Some are old ſtagers; and, being uſed to ſpill ink for pay in the quarrel of parties, made an offer of themſelves to enter the liſts again, and ſcold for wages at *Cato*. The finances were not in *Cato's* diſpoſal: this was a good and conſcientious reaſon to them for being againſt him. But theſe voluntiers are not ſuitably encouraged. One of them has in two years writ near a dozen pamphlets againſt you; but with ill ſucceſs every way. The town will not buy them; the other end of the town will not reward the author; nor will you take any notice of them. A melancholy caſe! That learned *Oxonian* is at preſent in the ſlough of deſpond.

Others, who had not been uſed to receive pay, and I doubt never will, thought themſelves qualified to earn it: for, alas! what is ſo deceiving as ſelf-love? So upon *Cato* they fell; and, by way of anſwer, cracked jeſts, and called him names. Fraught with this merit, away they footed ſweeting to the office; where, after many petitions, and much waiting, they were admitted to the audience of one of the clerks. They begged to be conſidered as humble auxiliaries, and to have an acknowledgment, the ſmalleſt acknowledgment. Theſe gentlemen had better luck than the above ancient author: they were fully rewarded; that is to ſay, they were civilly thanked by the aforeſaid clerk, and owned to be well-meaning perſons. And yet they are ungrateful, and make heavy complaints, as if they had nothing. They ſtill hope for more another time.

A bookſeller of my acquaintance tells me, that he has refuſed, within this year, five and fifty pamphlets written againſt you; and that the authors, one and all, offered to write for him by the year. They were all of opinion, that they could carry through a weekly paper with as much reputation and ſucceſs, as any yet

written againſt you: which he did not deny; and yet diſmiſſed them. He told me, it was but this winter, that a man in a livery came to him, and aſked him, What he would give for a ſermon to be preached by his maſter, the doctor, on a public occaſion? He anſwered, *Nothing*. *Oh, Sir,* ſays the valet, *my maſter's will ſell like wildfire. You cannot think, Sir, how purely he claws off* Cato: *and you will ſee he'll ſoon be made a* --------‡. You may ſee, Sir, that you are a uſeful man to many, and even conſidered as a ſcale to great preferment. This ſermon is ſince out, and it has neither hurt you, nor exalted the preacher, though he has there laboured the point very hard. The doctor wanted no good will, whatever elſe he wants. Unluckily for him, there is not an argument (I ſhould have ſaid aſſertion) uſed by him againſt writing, but what will bear fifty times as ſtrongly againſt preaching. I will, however, acquit him from meaning this conſequence, or any other but that which his man meant; and which ſeems a conſequence at leaſt extremely remote. The doctor is, indeed, admirable: while he thought himſelf haranguing and ſcattering words againſt libelling, he was actually inveighing virulently againſt himſelf, and preaching an angry libel againſt preaching. May the preſs and liberty be ever bleſſed with ſuch foes! The doctor does not want words; it is pity but he knew the uſe of them.

Says Mr. *Bayes*, in the *rehearſal, I bring out my bull and my bear; and what do you think I make them do, Mr.* Johnſon?

Johnſon. *Do! why, fight, I ſuppoſe.*

Bayes. *See how you are miſtaken now! I would as ſoon make them dance: no, igad, Sir, I make them do no earthly thing.*

‡ Here he mentioned one of the higheſt dignities in the church.

There is this difference between the doctor's bull, and Mr. *Bayes*'s bull: the doctor's bull bellows; beſides this he does no earthly thing neither.

Pray, Sir, be not ſo proud and lazy; ------ read ſome of your adverſaries, and their bulls will divert you.

Methinks, as great a man as the world takes you to be, and as you may think yourſelf, you treat your intended adverſaries, but real friends, too ſupercilioufly, and, I conceive, with too much contempt. I am told by ſome of your intimate friends, that you have never read any of their works; and yet, to my knowledge, ſeveral of them pleaſe themſelves with having mortified you, and do themſelves no ſmall credit, amongſt their acquaintance, by bragging of it. Give your poor retainers this conſolation, ſince they are like to have no other: conſider them as brats of your own begetting; and, ſince you have brought them into the world, that you ought to ſupport them. Your taking but the leaſt notice of them, and their performances, will give them food and raiment: but I will beg leave to ſay, that it is very unnatural, when you have given birth to ſo many innocent and harmleſs creatures, to leave them afterwards to ſtarve. You ſee that they want no induſtry and application; and it is not their fault if they want ſucceſs. Take, generous *Cato*, a little notice of them; and I am ſure they will gratefully acknowledge your indulgence. Read their labours, and condeſcend to throw away a few leiſure hours, in contemplating the imbecility of human nature. It becomes the greateſt men to know the weak ſides of it as well as the ſtrong; at leaſt you will learn this leſſon by it, That

Man differs more from man, than man from beaſt.

Give me leave to conclude with a ſtory: Once upon a time, I ſaw a brave large bull, of great comelineſs and dignity, brought out upon a green near a country village, to be baited. Among the bull-dogs fetched to bait him, were ſeen ſeveral dirty, deformed curs, called houſe-dogs, that vented all their choler in filthy noiſe. They barked aloud and bitterly, and diſturbed every body but the bull, who, at all their ſnapping, ſnivelling, and ſnarling, never turned his head, nor moved a foot or horn. At laſt, the ſquire of the place, who preſided at the entertainment, ſhewed himſelf a man of taſte and equity. *Take away*, ſays he, with a voice of authority, *take away theſe yelping mongrels: we do not uſe to bait bulls with turnſpits.*

G

I am, SIR,

Your humble ſervant,

HORATIUS.

Saturday, February 2. 1722. N°. 114.

The neceſſary decay of Popiſh *ſtates ſhewn from the nature of the* Popiſh *religion.*

SIR,

AS I do not pretend to be inſpired myſelf, nor have received any perſonal revelation concerning the whore of *Babylon*, nor to have ſkill enough in the Apocalypſe, to diſcover the exact time of the fall of Antichriſt; ſo I ſhall leave that charge to the profound perſons who are learned in prophetic knowledge; but would humbly adviſe them to uſe a little of their own endeavours to demoliſh the harlot, and not to expect the whole from Providence. And to encourage them in this undertaking, I ſhall attempt to ſhew in this paper, what is told us in the Homilies, That *ſhe is old and withered*, and would have long ſince fallen to pieces, if ſhe had not been patched with ſearcloths, and kept alive by cordials, adminiſtered by the charity of thoſe who were, or ought to have been, her enemies; and that, as ſoon as they leave off their complaiſance, give her no more phyſic, nor adopt her trumpery, her end will be certain: and this I ſhall attempt to prove from natural cauſes, leaving the ſupernatural ones to thoſe who underſtand them better.

It has been more than once ſaid in theſe letters, that population, labour, riches, and power, mutually procure one another, and always go together; that where there are but few people, and thoſe few are not

employed, there will be little wealth, and as little power; and conſequently, thoſe governments, which provide leaſt for the increaſe of their people, and for the employment of thoſe that they have, are leſs capable of annoying their enemies, or of preſerving themſelves. Now, if we try the power of Proteſtant and Popiſh ſtates by this teſt, it will appear abſolutely impoſſible that the latter can long ſubſiſt, if the former do not loſe their natural advantages by political blunders.

In the Popiſh ſtates of *Europe*, there are a million or more of male eccleſiaſtics, and almoſt as many of the other ſex, who by their religion are hindered from marriage, and conſequently from procreation, unleſs by ſtealth, and ſpurious births, which rarely produce living children; and all, or moſt of theſe, ſubſiſt upon the plunder of the people, without contributing any thing to the public wealth, either by their labour, or out of their immenſe revenues, which are uſually exempted from taxes, as are their perſons from wars; on the contrary, they have no other buſineſs, but to faſcinate and turn the brains of weak and enthuſiaſtic people, to make them loiter after maſſes and uſeleſs harangues, and to fill their heads with ſenſeleſs ſpeculations and wild chimera's, which make them either uſeleſs or dangerous to their governors, and the ready tools and inſtruments of turbulent and ſeditious pedants; which evil is, or ſhould be, better provided againſt in all Proteſtant ſtates.

In Popiſh countries, one third part of the year, or more, is ſpent in moſt religiouſly worſhiping dead men and women under the name of ſaints; in all which time the people dare not work to ſupport their families, but muſt contribute out of the little which remains, to pay their oppreſſors for preaching them out of their wits; and, by conſequence, the public loſes all that the people would earn in thoſe days; whereas, in Proteſtant ſtates, all, or moſt of this trumpery is

laid aſide, and they moſt reaſonably judge, that almighty God is not worſhipped by his creatures ſtarveing themſelves, and weakening their country.

In Popiſh countries the power of the eccleſiaſtics is ſo great, and their revenues ſo large, that the civil authority is often not able to protect its ſubjects. The prieſts, by the inquiſition and various cruelties, ſeize their eſtates, drive away their merchants and people, or ſtarve them at home, and frighten others from coming in their room; ſo that their princes are forced to keep meaſures with them, connive at, ſubmit to, and ſupport their tyranny, in order to be protected in their own power; and, by ſo doing, their unhappy and undone ſubjects are reduced to the condition of their great maſter, to be crucified between two thieves. On the contrary, in proteſtant ſtates the eccleſiaſtics are equally ſubject with the reſt of the people to the civil power; are not ſo numerous, nor have ſo large revenues, and thoſe revenues are taxable; nor have they ſo much power and influence to miſlead their hearers, and conſequently cannot do ſo much miſchief, and if kept to their proper buſineſs, may do much good by their pious examples, and by their godly precepts.

In Popiſh countries a great part of the year is ſpent in keeping *Lent*, and in faſting-days, when the people, by their poverty, are reduced to live upon ſtinking or unwholſome food, whence many of them periſh, and the reſt are weakened and enervated, and rendered unfit either for labour or procreation; and then ſucceeds a riotous carnival, during which they are idle and debauched; and both theſe extremes, in their turns, produce diſeaſes, poverty, and miſery; whereas in Proteſtant countries the people live in regular plenty, according to their condition, keep themſelves in conſtant labour and exerciſe, and by ſuch means preſerve their bodies in health, and their minds within

their bodies, without ſending them abroad a viſion-hunting.

In Popiſh countries great quantities of gold, ſilver, and jewels, which ought to circulate, and be uſed in commerce, are buried as uſeleſly as when in the mine; are applied to adorn images and churches, or are locked up in caverns, and rendered unſerviceable to mankind. This, forſooth, is called devotion, and giving to God what he before gave to men for their uſe; and their way of obeying him, is to make no uſe of it, and to lodge it only where there can be an ill uſe made of it. But, I thank God, this ſuperſtition is pretty well over in Proteſtant countries, where the people (a few old women and dotards excepted) think that their riches are better employed to maintain their families, relations, and friends, than to ſupport idlers and cynics.

In Popiſh countries, their eccleſiaſtics, living in idleneſs and riot, muſt be more laſcivious than if otherwiſe employed; and by the means of confeſſions, and other ſecret communications with women, have better and frequenter opportunities to debauch them themſelves, and to carry on intrigues for others, whereby they break in upon the peace of families, and interrupt the harmony which ought to accompany a married eſtate. To prevent in a good meaſure which miſchiefs (ſince they are forbid to marry), their ſtates are neceſſitated to tolerate eſtabliſhed courtezans under a regulation; an inſtitution, which hinders many others from marrying, debauches their minds, ruins their eſtates, and enervates their bodies, and yet gives few children to the commonwealth: which miſchief is well provided againſt in Proteſtant countries; for there no man is obliged to truſt his wife with a prieſt, and, for the moſt part, the clergy find it convenient to marry themſelves; and a bleſſing viſibly attends their endeavours, no

rank of people being more obſerved to multiply their ſpecies.

In Popiſh countries many foreign wars are raiſed and ſtirred up by the pride and ambition of the eccleſiaſtics to increaſe their power; and many domeſtic ones fomented for the ſame reaſon, about the power of the Pope, the inveſtiture of princes, the immunities of the clergy; and endleſs contentions ariſe with the ſtates which they live under, about their peculiar privileges, as well as conſtant perſecations againſt all who oppoſed their pretences: all which wars and quarrels exhauſt the people, perplex the puſtlic affairs, and either divide them into factions, or, which is much worſe, make them all of their own. But in Proteſtant countries theſe evils are leſs enormous: the people begin to ſee with their own eyes, and will not undo one another to gratify the ambition of any who would oppreſs them all; nor force or drive out of their country uſeful inhabitants, for dry chimera's and uſeleſs notions, and for the ſhape of their thoughts and imaginations; and many of their clergy do not deſire it.

In Popiſh countries, great numbers of idle and uſeleſs members of ſociety are employed to ſupport the luxury of the eccleſiaſtics, or to contribute to their ſuperſtition; as organiſts, fidlers, ſingers, ſcholars, as they are called, numerous officers of various kinds, and many lazy beggars, who feed upon their ſcraps, or are ſupported by their means out of the charity of others, who are perſuaded that they ſerve God in keeping them idle and neceſſitous, and without labouring for a ſubſiſtence: all theſe are a dead weight upon ſociety, live like drones in a hive, and eat honey without making any. This grievance is not ſo great in Proteſtant countries, the clergy amongſt them not being uſed to throw away their money without having ſomething for it.

In Popiſh countries there is an aſylum and ſanctuary in every pariſh, where robbers, murderers, and all ſorts of criminals, are defended againſt their ſovereigns and their laws; by which means banditti and aſſaſſins are become a ſort of eſtabliſhment, and are the Swiſs and guards of the Papacy, depend upon the prieſts for protection, and are always at hand to execute their bloody deſigns, and to partake of the ſpoil, as well as to be hired by others; by which means there are numerous and nightly murders in thoſe countries, and the people there dare not go about their neceſſary affairs; and therefore cannot have the ſame ſecurity and encouragement as in Proteſtant countries, where this enormous wickedneſs is not allowed and practiſed, and where the prieſts cannot protect aſſaſſins; and the worſt that can be ſaid of any of them is, that they will not find fault with them afterwards, but are ready to abſolve them at the gallows, if they have been doing their work: and in one inſtance, in a certain juriſdiction (‡) where a certain high prieſt, or thoſe who act under him, compound with delinquents by the great for crimes, which they have committed, or are to commit for the year enſuing; *alamode* of his holineſs at *Rome*.

Theſe, and other infinite evils, are produced by the Popiſh religion, which depopulates nations, deſtroys induſtry, overturns law and juſtice, the cements of ſociety, diſcourages trade, drives out merchants, enervates ſtates, and renders the race of mankind feeble, lazy, and miſerable. Nor can I ſee a bare poſſibility how theſe wretched people can extricate themſelves out of their doleful condition, which muſt

(‡) Weſtminſter, *in the time of Doctor* Atterbury, *whoſe protection, or that of his high bailiff, ſome bawdy-houſes claimed againſt the authority of the juſtices of peace.*

ſtill go on from bad to worſe, till they become ſo weak as to be the prey of foreign enemies, or to expire by as internal conſumption; for the power of the eccleſiaſtics is ſo great, and depends ſo much upon keeping the layety poor, ignorant, idle, and helpleſs, that they cannot have the will or power to recover themſelves.

This wicked policy has turned the *Campania* of *Rome*, and all the populous and fertile provinces of *Italy*, into bogs, moraſſes, and deſarts, and would have long ſince extinguiſhed Popery, if ſome of the Proteſtant ſtates had not forgot the principles upon which they had reformed, and others had ſubmitted to domeſtic ſlavery, but little worſe than eccleſiaſtical, as both flowing from the ſame root, and producing the ſame evils, though not in the ſame degree; however, I think that the cataſtrophe of Popery is but a little farther removed, for the few ſtates amongſt the proteſtants, with prudent laws, and a wiſe conduct alone, may be in a condition, if they can keep their liberty, without ſtriking a ſtroke but in their own defence, to demoliſh and overturn this monſtrous *Babel*, or make or ſuffer it to deſtroy itſelf.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, February 9. 1722. N°. 115.

The encroaching nature of power, ever to be watched and checked.

SIR,

ONLY the checks put upon magiſtrates make nations free; and only the want of ſuch checks makes them ſlaves. They are free, where their magiſtrates are confined within certain bounds ſet them by the people, and act by rules preſcribed them by the people: and they are ſlaves, where their magiſtrates chooſe their own rules, and follow their luſts and humours; than which a more dreadful curſe can befal no people; nor did ever any magiſtrate do what he pleaſed, but the people were undone by his pleaſure; and therefore moſt nations in the world are undone, and thoſe nations only who bridle their governors do not wear chains.

Unlimited power is ſo wild and monſtrous a thing that however natural it be to deſire it, it is as natural to oppoſe it; nor ought it to be truſted with any mortal man, be his intentions ever ſo upright: for beſides that he will never care to part with it, he will rarely dare. In ſpight of himſelf he will make many enemies, againſt whom he will be protected only by his power, or at leaſt think himſelf beſt protected by it. The frequent and unforeſeen neceſſities of his affairs, and frequent difficulties and oppoſition will force him, for his own preſervation, or for the preſervation of his power, to try expedients, to tempt dangers, and to do things which he did not foreſee, nor intend, and perhaps, in the beginning abhorred.

We know, by infinite examples and experience, that men poſſeſſed of power, rather than part with it, will do any thing, even the worſt and the blackeſt, to keep it; and ſcarce ever any man upon earth went out of it as long as he could carry every thing his own way in it; and when he could not, he reſigned. I doubt that there is not one exception in the world to this rule; and that *Dioclefian*, *Charles* the fifth, and even *Sylla*, laid down their power out of pique and diſcontent, and from oppoſition and diſappointment. This ſeems certain, That the good of the world, or of their people, was not one of their motives either for continuing in power, or for quitting it.

It is the nature of power to be ever encroaching, and converting every extraordinary power, granted at particular times, and upon particular occaſions, into an ordinary power, to be uſed at all times, and when there is no occaſion; nor does it ever part willingly with any advantage. From this ſpirit it is, that occaſional commiſſions have grown ſometimes perpetual; that three years have been improved into ſeven, and one into twenty, and that when the people have done with their magiſtrates, their magiſtrates will not have done with the people.

The *Romans*, who knew this evil, having ſuffered by it, provided wiſe remedies againſt it; and when one ordinary power grew too great, checked it with another. Thus the office and power of the tribunes was ſet up to balance that of the conſuls, and to protect the populace againſt the inſolence, pride, and intrenchments of the nobility: and when the authority of the tribunes grew too formidable, a good expedient was found out to reſtrain it; for in any turbulent or factious deſign of the tribunes, the proteſt or diſſent of any one of them made void the purpoſes and proceedings of all the reſt. And both the conſuls and the tribunes were choſen only for a year.

Thus the *Romans* preſerved their liberty by limiting the time and power of their magiſtrates, and by making them anſwerable afterwards for their behaviour in it: and beſides all this, there lay from the magiſtrates an appeal to the people; a power, which, however great, they generally uſed with eminent modeſty and mercy; and, like the people of other nations, ſinned much ſeldomer than their governors. Indeed, in any public diſorder, or misfortune, the people are ſcarce ever in the fault; but, far on the other ſide, ſuffer often, with a criminal patience, the ſore evils brought wantonly or fooliſhly upon them by others, whom they pay dear to prevent them.

This ſacred right of appealing to the people was ſecured to them by a very good and very ſevere law, which is found in *Livy* in theſe words: *Aliam deinde conſularem legem de provocatione, unicum præſidium libertatis, decemvirali poteſtate everſam, non reſtituunt modo, ſed etiam muniunt, ſanciendo novam legem,* ne quis ullum magiſtratum ſine provocatione crearet: qui creaſſet, eum jus faſque eſſet occidi: neve cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur. "The former conſular "law for appealing to the people, (the firſt and on"ly great ſupport of liberty) having been overturn"ed by the uſurpation of the *Decemviri*, was now "not only reſtored, but fortified by a new law, *which* "*forbad the creating of any magiſtrate without appeal,* "*and made it lawful to kill any man that did ſo, with*"*out ſubjecting the killer to a capital penalty.*" The *Romans* had but too good reaſon for theſe laws; for the *Decemviri*, from whom there was no appeal, had enſlaved them.

And becauſe the being frequently choſen into power, might have effects as bad as the long continuance in it, *Cicero*, in his book *de legibus*, tells us, that there was an expreſs law, *Eundem magiſtratum, ni interfuerint decem anni, ne quis capito;* "That no "man ſhould bear the ſame magiſtracy which he had

" borne before, but after an interval of ten years." This law was afterwards ſtrengthened with ſevere penalties. Hence *Rutilius Cenſorius* blamed the people in a public ſpeech for creating him twice *Cenſor:* and *Fabius Maximus* would have hindered them from chooſing his ſon *Conſul*, though poſſeſſed of every virtue proper for one, becauſe the chief magiſtracies had been too long and too often in the *Fabian* family. And there are many inſtances in the *Roman* hiſtory, of magiſtrates, chief magiſtrates, being degraded for their pride, avarice, and male-adminiſtration; and thoſe who were thus degraded, were by law diſabled, like our late directors, from ever enjoying again any poſt or power. Nor were the *Romans* leſs careful to oblige their magiſtrates, as ſoon as they came out of their offices and governments, to make up their accounts, and to give a ſtrict account of their good behaviour; and for an ill one they were often condemned, and their eſtates confiſcated. Beſides all which, to be a ſenator, or a magiſtrate, a certain qualification in point of fortune was required; and thoſe who had run through their fortunes, were degraded from the dignity of ſenators. --- A reaſonable precaution, that they who were entruſted with the intereſt of their country, ſhould have ſome intereſt of their own in it.

In this manner did the *Roman* people check power, and thoſe who had it; and when any power was grown quite ungovernable, they aboliſhed it. Thus they expelled *Tarquin*, and the kingly government, having firſt ſuffered much by it; and they proſpered as eminently without it. That government too had been extremely limited: the firſt *Roman* kings were little more than generals for life: they had no negative vote in the ſenate, and could neither make war nor peace; and even in the execution of juſtice, an appeal lay from them to the people, as is manifeſt in the caſe of the caſe of the ſurviving *Horatius*, who

ſlew his ſiſter. *Servius Tullius* made laws, ſays *Tacitus, which even the kings were to obey.* By confining the power of the crown within proper bounds, he gained power without bounds in the affections of the people. But the inſolent *Tarquin* broke through all bounds, and acted ſo openly againſt law, and the people of *Rome*, that they had no remedy left but to expel him and his race; which they did with glorious ſucceſs.

The dictatorial power was afterwards given occaſionally, and found of great uſe; but ſtill it was limited to ſo many months; and there are inſtances where even the dictator could not do what he pleaſed, but was over-ruled by the judgment of the people. Beſides, when the *Romans* came to have great and diſtant territories, and great armies, they thought the dictatorial power too great and too dangerous to be truſted with any ſubject, and laid it quite aſide; nor was it ever afterwards uſed, till it was violently uſurped, firſt by *Sylla*, afterwards by *Cæſar*, and then *Rome* loſt its liberty.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, February 16. 1722. N°. 116.

That whatever moves and acts, does ſo mechanically and neceſſarily.

SIR,

IT is juſtly obſerved by Mr. *Locke*, and by Mr. *Hobbes* and others before him, that we have no innate ideas, nor can reflect upon them before we have them; that is, we cannot think before we have ſomething to think upon. All objects and materials for thinking muſt be let in upon the mind through the organs of ſenſe; and when they are there, we reflect or reaſon upon them; or, to ſpeak philoſophically, when the action of exterior bodies ſtrikes upon us, it muſt cauſe a ſecond action or motion, and continue it *in infinitum*, unleſs it meets obſtruction. This firſt action cauſes ſenſation, and the ſecond reflection; and the firſt ſeems to me as neceſſarily to produce the latter, as the wind fails a ſhip, or the winding up of a clock ſets it in motion.

Every ſyſtem of matter has peculiar organizations, and can perform only peculiar functions. A cow cannot perform the offices of a horſe, nor a man of a monkey; nor indeed, in many inſtances, can one man perform thoſe of another. As ſome machines or ſyſtems of matter conſiſt of vaſtly finer and more numerous parts than others, ſo they are capable of more operations. A watch which points to minutes or ſeconds has more wheels than one which only ſhews hours; and a ſtriking or repeating watch has more than both, though all are wound up by the ſame

key. Animals who conſiſt of infinite tubes, veins, arteries, muſcles, and juices, which alſo conſiſt of infinite globular, and other figured particles of matter, muſt have ſuitable and very ſurprizing operations, tho' all their actions muſt be confined within the circle of their machine; but they will be multiplied in equal or greater degree than the chances upon dies. Two dies have ſix times as many chances as one, and three as two, and ſo on *in infinitum*; and therefore there ſeems to be no difficulty in accounting for the great variety of actions in animals, more than in inferior machines: and as mankind never have, nor, I preſume, ever will diſcover all the powers of mechanical experiments; ſo with greater reaſon one may venture to aſſert, that no animal ever yet has exerted all the faculties which it was endued with: a thouſand dies may turn up all ſixes; but I believe this has never happened, nor I believe ever will.

Vegetables ſeem to me to be analagous in many reſpects to animals: their generation appears to be much alike: they both riſe from ſeeds, or eggs, and continue their kinds by the ſame: their life is continued alike, and their nouriſhment conveyed through veins or other tubes; and when that nouriſhment ceaſes, they die; and as the action of the ſun, and other bodies, ſets the former in motion, and cauſes that ſort of ſenſation which we call vegetation, ſo the ſame power, or ſome other like it, ſeems to rouze animal life, and ſets it in like motion; and all motion muſt be progreſſive in the ſame ſyſtem till be deſtroyed, or that ſyſtem become another, or part of another; which ſhall be more fully ſhewn hereafter.

This action is called by different names, as it affects the different parts of the machine. When it affects the eye, it is called ſeeing; the ear, it hearing; the palate, taſting; the noſe, ſmelling; which indeed are but different ſorts of feeling: but when the motion is continued farther, and gets to the brain,

or other internal parts of the ſyſtem, it cauſes the effect which we call thinking; which again operates within the animal, and drives it to farther action, which is always analagous to the diſpoſition of the fabric, and regular, or irregular, according to the preſent formation of the machine, and of the powers which impel it. And here we cannot enough admire the exquiſite ſkill of the ſupreme architect, who has formed ſuch ſtupendous and amazing works of his omnipotence; and in many inſtances, I conceive we ſhould judge right if we only admired them, and not vainly attempted to find out what we can never know. We want faculties to ſearch the cauſes of moſt things in nature, and know nothing of their internal contexture, and but little of the *modus* of their operations. We ſee only ſome ſenſible effects of the actions of bodies upon one another; but how they produce theſe effects, we are utterly ignorant, and I believe ever ſhall be whilſt we are in this ſtate: we cannot tell why the fire burns, the graſs grows, the eye ſees, the ear hears, or the mind thinks, only we find in fact, that they do ſo; and here is our *ne plus ultra.*

It is exceedingly imprudent therefore for men to pretend to determine the powers of matter and motion, when they know not what matter is, of what parts it conſiſts, or indeed any thing about it, but by a few outward effects; nor can we form any notions of it but from thoſe effects, which yet probably do not exhauſt the millionth part of its powers: and it is ſtill more ridiculous to uſe the word *ſpirit* (of which we have no ſort of idea), to account for other things, of which we have very little or no idea neither; and in many inſtances, deny what we ſee, to pretend to believe what we do not underſtand. Words are only the ſigns of images, as figures are of numbers; and what uſe is there of a ſound, or ſcrall, which

ſignifies nothing, or, which is the ſame thing, which ſtands for what we know nothing of?

Now if a man ſhould aſk a modern philoſopher, what he meant by the word *ſpirit?* he poſſibly will anſwer, that it is ſomething which wants extenſion and ſolidity. If it be aſked again what conception he has of any thing which has neither extenſion nor ſolidity? and he anſwer that he has none at all; but that there may be beings in nature of which he neither has, nor can have any idea: if then he be aſked, why he uſes a word which has no conception annexed to it, to explain another thing about which he is wholly in the dark? his reply, I preſume, will be, that he cannot account for ſome operations of that being by the images which he had before conceived of it, and the definitions about it which he had been uſed to; and therefore he was forced to recur to negative ideas. If he be aſked again, how he knows that his definitions are right, and take in all the powers of that being? he muſt acknowledge that he knows not the thouſandth part of its powers; but yet perhaps will ſay, that he is very ſure that it has not powers inconſiſtent with the nature of body. It will be aſked of him how he, who knows little or nothing of the nature of body, can know what is againſt the nature of body? which difficulty I ſhall leave to wiſer men to unriddle.

Now it appears to me, that there are many mechanical operations of the minds and bodies of animals, which reſult only from their peculiar ſyſtems of matter; or, in other words, compounded bodies, peculiarly ſyſtematized, attain new qualities and powers which they had not before, and which influence their own actions, and the actions of other bodies, as neceſſarily as the loadſtone draws iron, or the root and fibres of a tree or plant attract the juices of the earth, and convey them on till they are tranſmuted into wood, leaves, and fruit. A chick, or a young

pheaſant, hatched in an oven, as ſoon as it is out of the ſhell, will eat bread, or emmet eggs, and ſoon after ſhew ſigns of love or fear, and ſhrink from danger (like the ſenſitive plant from the touch) before it has gained any experience, has any ſenſe of injuries, or can know how it can be hurt. Birds hatched in a cage will not only generate together, but will build their neſt in the ſame manner, and of the ſame materials with thoſe of the ſame kind, if they can come at them, without having ſeen any of the ſame ſort before. Infant animals immediately ſeek after the teats of their dams, without being taught to do ſo; and all animals and vegetables ſeek or attract the peculiar nouriſhment that is proper to their ſpecies, without any direction but from nature; and have the ſame affections and paſſions, with but little variation: which I think plainly ſhews, that their particular organizations, or ſyſtems of matter, by a natural ſort of gravitation or attraction direct their operations; and though every particular of the ſame ſpecies differ in ſome reſpects from another, and conſequently their actions will vary, yet they are all confined within the limits proſcribed to the whole ſpecies. And this obſervation runs through all nature.

Now I conceive that this muſt be accounted for as above, or we muſt recur to conſtant miracle, or elſe ſuppoſe that God almighty has given to every ſpecies of animals peculiar minds different from all other kinds, and to every particular a mind different from all the reſt of the ſame kind; which mind guides and directs all our actions: and makes all the ſpecific as well as identical differences that we ſee: for which ſuppoſition I can find no foundation in reaſon, or from obſervation; nor can I perceive what uſe can be made of ſuch a conceſſion; for whether the actions of animals are directed by the diſpoſition of the materials which form them, or they were

originally conſtituted with ſuch appetites: they muſt act the ſame way; and this farther raiſes our admiration of the power and providence of God, who has formed all his creatures in ſuch a manner as to anſwer his intentions in creating them; and has ſo diſpoſed the mechaniſm and juices of every living ſpecies, as well as of every individual, as will beſt conduce to its preſervation, and to perform the function intended.

But here a notable diſtinction ariſes between the operations of the mind, and thoſe in body, or in other words, between ſenſations and reflections, between appetites and reaſonings; which I muſt beg leave to think, in this regard, has no foundation in nature, and only exiſts in metaphyſical brains. There can be no ſenſations, inclinations, or appetites, without the co-operation of that faculty, capacity, energy, or whatever elſe it is that we call the mind. Dead men can no more hear, ſee, feel, *&c.* than a lump of earth, becauſe their organization is deſtroyed, or the animal ſpirits which ſet them in motion can no longer continue that motion, or the ſeparate principle, called the mind, can no longer keep its habitation; but whatever it be, or by what name ſoever called, it is certainly the *cauſa ſine qua non* of the actions of the animal, and is one link of the chain of cauſes which direct and govern his voluntary motions.

It is the mind which ſees, hears, taſtes, ſmells, feels, deſires, or fears; and herein conſiſts the difference between animals and vegetables: they have both life, and both have organizations proper to preſerve and continue that life, by ſuitable nouriſhment conveyed through veins and tubes: both have ſurprizing operations, unſearchable by our capacities; and both muſt have a long train of cauſes from nature to enable them to produce thoſe operations: but beſides many other poſſible cauſes, linked together in thoſe chains, and many of them exiſting within

animals themſelves, which we do not know, there is one which we do, namely, the will or deſire to do a thing; and this certainly in a thouſand inſtances, depends upon cauſes without us, and which are undoubtedly out of our power; which cauſes without ſet the other cauſes within us at work, and produce the will, and conſequently the action.

A chick, or a young pheaſant, would no more peck, or a lamb ſuck, than if it was dead, if it did not intend to do it: it feels uneaſineſs by hunger, and ſtrives to help itſelf: it certainly ſhews thought and choice, in preferring one ſort of food before another, and in ſhrinking or running away from danger: and theſe are all actions of the mind. It is true, as it grows older, and its contexture ſtronger, its experience encreaſes, and its capacity grows with it; but the faculty is the ſame, and, for any thing which appears to the contrary, reſults from the formation of the ſyſtem; nor can I conceive how all birds, beaſts, and fiſhes of the ſame ſpecies, ſhould have the ſame, or very near the ſame ſenſations, deſires, and fears, and chuſe the ſame kinds of food and means of preſervation, and always uſe the ſame, or very near the ſame addreſs, cunning, or artifice, unleſs their contexture, the diſpoſition of materials and juices, of which they are compounded by a natural mechaniſm, produced theſe effects, either by conſtituting or acting upon that energy, called their minds, and then directing and coercing thoſe minds to exert the faculty, called the will, which produces the action, if it may be lawful to diſtinguiſh an operation of the ſame power from itſelf.

I am not aware of any other objection to this reaſoning, but that we can have no conception how matter can produce an act or operation of the mind in brute animals; and therefore other ſyſtems have been invented, equally unconceiveable, to avoid this, and which apparently contradict fact. It is plain that their minds

are affected, altered, and receive addition and diminution by diet, phyſic, and exerciſe, and partake, in many reſpects, of the fate of their material ſyſtem; and their faculties are greater or leſs, according to the diſpoſition of that ſyſtem, as ſhall be more fully ſhewn in future papers. And ſince the whole muſt conſiſt of the ſeveral parts, what reaſons can be aſſigned to prove, that material cauſes may create or produce the parts, and not the whole, I mean of their minds; for as to the ſoul of man, I ſhall conſider it ſeparately hereafter. For my own part, I have had always ſo unfortunate a turn of thinking, that I could never ſubſcribe to opinions, becauſe others held them before me; nor will I ſend into the clouds for ſolutions, which lie under my noſe, or refuſe the benefit of my eyes to amuſe my underſtanding; neither ſhall I regard the calumnies and uncharitable cenſures of thoſe who dare not peep out of their dark dungeons, and wou'd meaſure all truth by imbibed prejudices: but ſhall ever think, that I ſhall do more honour to almighty God, in believing that he has ſo formed at once the whole fabric of heaven and earth, as to produce all the events which he intended, than to ſuppoſe that he has often found cauſe to mend and alter his firſt reſolutions; though I confeſs, that it may conſiſt with his wiſdom, and conduce to the ends of his providence, to ſuffer matters, in ſome reſpects, and at ſome times, to appear to us in other lights.

He certainly is a more ſkilful artificer, who can make a watch which will go for a thouſand years, and then break to pieces at a ſtated time, than another who makes one which muſt be wound up every day, and mended every month.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, February 23. 1722. N°. 117.

Of the abuſe of words, applied more particularly to the covetous man and the bigot.

SIR,

I Have often thought, that moſt of the miſchiefs under which mankind ſuffers, and almoſt all their polemic diſputes are owing to the abuſe of words. If men would define what they mean by the ſounds which they make uſe of to expreſs their thoughts, and then keep to thoſe definitions, that is, annex always the ſame ideas to the ſame ſounds, moſt of the diſputes in the world would be at an end: but this would not anſwer the purpoſes of thoſe who derive power and wealth from impoſing upon the ignorance and credulity of others. And therefore, till the world can agree to be honeſt, and to buy and ſell by the ſame meaſure (which they do not ſeem in haſte to do), I doubt this evil is likely to go on.

There are no words in language which ſeem to me to be more miſapplied than the word *ſelf-intereſt*, by divines, orators, philoſophers, or poets: all have exerted themſelves with great efforts of exhortation, reaſon, eloquence, and wit, againſt this reigning vice; but I conceive, that they have all miſſed the mark. Indeed, in the larger ſenſe of the word, I think it impoſſible for any man to act upon any other motive than his own intereſt: for every purſuit that we make, muſt have for its end the gratification of ſome appetite, or the avoiding of ſome evil which we fear; and, in truth, when we ſay that any man is ſelf-intereſt-

ed, we mean only, that he is not enough in his own intereſt.

A good-humoured man, when he pities another, gratifies a natural paſſion, in having a fellow-feeling of the calamities of others, and a deſire to ſee all men out of pain or trouble. A generous man pleaſes his vanity, oſtentation, or temper, in doing good to others; or by it intends to gain friends or dependents. An indulgent parent takes pleaſure to ſee that his children (whom he eſteems parts of himſelf) live happy, contented, and make a figure in the world; and derives credit and reputation to himſelf from their doing ſo. A beneficent patron, or a man in love, reaps great perſonal ſatisfaction in obliging the objects of his kindneſs, and by making them more devoted to himſelf. And all theſe pity or contemn one who wants theſe agreeable appetites, and moſt reaſonably judge, that he wants many pleaſures which they themſelves enjoy; as well knowing, that, next to the preſervation of their beings by wholſome food, and warm raiment, and the enjoying the common neceſſaries and uſual diverſions of life, all that can be added to their happineſs is, to obtain reſpect, love, and eſteem from others.

Even all the worſt paſſions flow from the ſame ſource. For, what is hatred, malice, and revenge, but gratifying vicious appetites? And fear and cowardice are only ſtruggles in nature to avoid evils to ourſelves. Of all men, the covetous man is the moſt unhappy: for, as every pleaſure is the gratification of ſome appetite or deſire, the man who has leaſt deſires and appetites, muſt have the leaſt pleaſures, and he muſt loſe many agreeable ſenſations which other men enjoy. I laugh at the fooliſh philoſophy of ſome ſects in old *Greece*, who placed the *Summum Bonum*, or chief happineſs, in the abſence of all paſſions or deſires; which can be only a ſtate of death, or perfect ſtupidity, whilſt we are alive. Men exceed vegetables

no otherwiſe than as they think; and when they ceaſe to think (if that can be) they are in a temporary ſtate of death; and the objects of all thinking muſt be ſomething which we deſire to attain, or fear to loſe: and as thought itſelf is only a motion of the mind, ſo one motion muſt produce another, as every thought muſt do, and be perpetually progreſſive, till death puts an end to all thoughts. Here covetouſneſs therefore can only proceed from a poorneſs and dejection of ſoul, which always fears want and miſery, and muſt ever be bereft of all lively and ſparkling imaginations, be in a conſtant ſtate of diffidence and deſpondency, and loſe all the gay, chearful and generous ſenſations, which flow from a free, active, happy, and beneficent mind.

I muſt take the liberty therefore to think, that *ſelf-intereſt*, in the ill ſenſe of the word, ought to be new-defined, and made applicable only to thoſe who prefer a ſmall intereſt to a great one, or to ſuch who take a wrong way to attain that great one: and in this latter ſenſe the bigot is the moſt ſelf-intereſted perſon in the world: his whole thoughts are ſo wound up in himſelf, and his own perſonal views, that he is wholly regardleſs of what becomes of the reſt of the world, unleſs he can find his own benefit in it. Indeed he will give ſome looſe pence to beggars or vagabonds, and perhaps ſums to maintain idlers and cynics, not out of humanity and generous principles, but in order to put it out to large intereſt: I do not mean for five or ſix *per cent.* but for more than ſixty times ſixty thouſand; though, if a nation be to be ſaved, or a great people protected from ſlavery, he is wholly unconcerned about the event, as eſteeming the little affairs of this world much below his notice and conſideration.

He is the ſame in reſpect of the other world, as the covetous man is in reſpect of this; and both their good qualities proceed from the ſame principles and

appetites in nature. He is covetous for the good things in the kingdom of heaven, as the other is for them here; and both take much the ſame way to get them. They both contemn wiſe men, becauſe wiſe men contemn them; their deſpiſing the vanities of the world, ſaves money; their condemning the modeſt pleaſures of life, gratifies their ſour and cenſorious temper; their living cloiſtered and retired lives, feeds natural melancholy; and the former hopes to carry heaven (which the other does not trouble himſelf about) by ſinging ſongs upon earth, by being perfectly uſeleſs to ſociety, and good for no one thing in the world.

This ſort of creature is the tool for knaves to work with, and made uſe of to ſerve their intereſts, whilſt he intends only to purſue his own. He is made to believe that kingdoms, infinitely preferable to thoſe of this world, are to be gained by the manner of cutting his corns, or by forms, faſhions, habits, poſtures, cringes, and grimaces; by uſing a rote of words, or by uſeleſs ſpeculations, and dancing after idle harangues, and always by being an implacable enemy and a furious adverſary to all who have generous and beneficent affections towards their own ſpecies. He values opinions like rotten cheeſe, in proportion as they are old; and is more concerned for people's believing right, than for their doing right. He thinks that the way to ſhew our gratitude to God, is to refuſe his gifts; and believes truth the more ſacred, the leſs it is underſtood; and nothing worthy to be called faith, but what is abſurd to reaſon, and contradicts all the principles of ſcience. He is a faſt friend to every thing that looks like a myſtery; thinks common ſenſe too common, and ſublime nonſenſe to be always a proof of inſpiration. He meaſures virtue and vice, right and wrong, not by the intereſts of mankind, but by ſcanty and partial rules, invented by pedants and hypocrites, and calculated chiefly for their own bene-

fit. He is a friend to no man, and all his thoughts and ſpeculations are above humanity and ſocial pleaſures, and all the frail things of this world; and ſo he keeps all his money to himſelf, and, at laſt, perhaps, ſtarves his friends and family, to leave it to ſuch wretches as he is, not out of kindneſs to them, but to receive ample payment again where he is going.

I have often wondered how this ſtupid animal could ever be in repute; how the moſt inſignificant and worſt being in the univerſe could be thought the moſt acceptable to the beſt; and how any one can be ſuppoſed to merit heaven, by being uſeleſs upon earth. *Caſtruccio Caſtracani* ſaid well, That he would never believe that friar *Hieronymo* had more intereſt above than he himſelf had. Surely he judged right; yet the world ever have run, and, I doubt, ever will run, madding after hermits, cynics, dreamers of dreams, venders of prophecy, and after recluſe and ſequeſtered perſons, who are ſuppoſed to know heavenly things in proportion as they know nothing here. They call their ſolemn folly, divine wiſdom; their ſpleen and melancholy, godly contemplation; their envious, ſullen, and moroſe tempers, ſtrict and rigid virtue, and deteſtation of vice: covetouſneſs is frugality, and the contempt of things below. Whereas a truly virtuous and godly man is the moſt candid, amiable, and beſt natured creature upon earth: he ſpends his life in doing all the good that he can, and to all the men that he can: he takes pleaſure in ſeeing all men happy, and will endeavour to make them all happy: he has large and comprehenſive notions of the Deity; and as he finds in himſelf kind and beneficent affections towards the whole creation, believes that the ſupreme being has the ſame; and, conſequently, will not make our happineſs or miſery to depend upon what is out of our power, or upon ſuch ſpeculations

or actions as can produce no moral good, but often deſtroy it, and promote evil.

T

God wants nothing; and if we have any gifts to beſtow, his creatures are our only proper objects: but thoſe who crave in his name largeſſes and endowments, which they apply to their own uſe and luxury, and call their own luxury and pomp the ſerving of him, make the Almighty as greedy as they are, and the giver of all things to want almoſt every thing; and confining all their bounty and charity to their own dear perſons, think that he does ſo too, and that they are as dear to him as they are to themſelves; and ſo hate and deſpiſe, diſtreſs and deſtroy, in the name of God, all whom they hate for their own ſakes: ſo that, excepting a very few men (the moſt ridiculous and the worſt of the whole) all the human ſpecies are eſteemed by them as outcaſts, whom the wiſe creator and governor of the world has ſent into it only to abhor and to damn them; and though his favours are infinite, yet they think that he beſtows them all upon a little iſland, or a poor deſert, or on a ſmall and contemptible corner of the earth, purely becauſe the inhabitants wear blue, or black, or broad bonnets, quaint doublets or long petticoats; and eat, or refuſe to eat, fiſh or fleſh, and other food given for the general uſe of all men; or make ſelfiſh and partial ſpeeches to him, and uſe crazy diſtinctions about him, which he commands not, which wiſe men underſtand not, and which the weakeſt men alone are governed by.

With bigots almoſt every thing that is truth is blaſphemy. With them a ſour face, and a bitter and implacable heart, are qualifications ſo acceptable to the wiſe, merciful, and forgiving God, that he hates all who want theſe qualifications: ſo that, in great

deteſtation of blaſphemy, they blaſphemouſly make the God and father of mercies, and of man, a party-man too; or, at beſt, the head of the moſt ſenſeleſs, uſeleſs, inhuman, and miſchievous party in the univerſe, the party of bigots; who, being blindly and obſtinately addicted to their own incurable follies, are furiouſly bent againſt all the wiſe and ſober men in the world: they improve the world by defacing it; and their way of building up, is to deſtroy and pull down. This they call edification.

But religion is another and a contrary thing; and whoever would entertain a juſt idea of the divine being, muſt conceive of him in direct oppoſition to the bigot's conceptions; namely, That the God of truth is not the author of contradictions; That when he ſpeaks to men, he ſpeaks not above the capacities of men, but to their capacities, which is the end of ſpeaking; That he who makes the hearts of men, is the beſt and only judge of mens hearts, who cannot ſee into one another's, that being the only province and privilege of omniſcience; That his perfect goodneſs cannot puniſh men, whom he has created naturally ſubject to errors, for involuntary errors; That having not made man perfect, he cannot be offended with him for natural and inevitable imperfections.

That we cannot provoke him, when we intend to adore him; That the beſt way to ſerve him, is to be ſerviceable to one another; he himſelf, who is omnipotent, wanting none of our impotent aſſiſtance and benefits, which muſt come from him, but cannot go from us to him; That to hurt men, or betray them, for his ſake, is to mock him, and impiouſly to father upon the God of wiſdom and peace our own rage and folly; That to him, neither ſounds, nor geſtures, nor actions, are good or bad, pleaſing or diſpleaſing, but as the intentions from whence they ſpring are ſincere or inſincere, of which he alone can be judge.

That he who made the world has not reſtrained his gifts, favours, and mercies, to a nook of it; nor picks out from among men, who are all his, a few particular minions and favourites, or gives theſe authority to domineer over the reſt, and to oppeſs them in the name of that God who is not the God of a nation, or of a ſect, but of all nations, tongues, and perſuaſions, and is heard of all that call upon him and fear him: That the only way to pleaſe and reſemble him, is to do, as he does, good to all impartially, and to reſtrain men from hurting or perſcuting one another: and, in fine, That anger, revenge, and ambition, are not religion: nor the author and object of it an angry, partial, whimſical, and cruel being; but That religion is as different from bigotry, and as far above it, as the wiſe, great, and good God is above weak, little, ill, and angry men.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, March 2. 1722. N°. 118.

Free ſtates vindicated from the common imputation of ingratitude.

SIR,

IT is a common objection againſt free ſtates, that they are ungrateful: but I think that I ſhall be able to ſhew the contrary, that they are much more grateful than arbitrary princes; and are rarely ungrateful but to thoſe who uſe them ungratefully, and forfeit by it any obligation which they had laid upon them.

It is the chief and firſt ambition of free ſtates, to preſerve themſelves; and ſuch as contribute moſt to that end amongſt them, are genenrally placed by them in the firſt ſtations of figure and power. But as men generally over-rate their own merit, public rewards, however great, are rarely ſo great as are the expectations and pretenſions of men to theſe rewards. So that ſuch as are preferred for ſerving, or for a capacity of ſerving, the public, are ſeldom preferred ſo high as they think they deſerve; and, being neither pleaſed with the meaſure nor duration of their power, where it is not boundleſs and perpetual, are apt to be ſtrugling to make it ſo, though to the ruin of thoſe who gave it for their own preſervation, and to the overthrowing of every purpoſe for which it was given. When this is the aim, as it too often is, the people grow preſently very ungrateful, becauſe they will not become ſlaves to their own ſervants. And here is the

ſource of moſt of the contentions in the world between the governors and governed. The people provoke their rulers by a very heinous and ill-bred crime, that of diſtinguiſhing between protection and oppreſſion: for this they are ungrateful. They are ready enough almoſt every where to give their governors too much; but that will not do. *Nero*, after he had put off the hypocrite. never conferred any office upon any man, but he always gave him theſe ſhort inſtructions: *You know what I have occaſion for: let it be your care and mine that no body elſe have any thing.* Nor was *Nero* the laſt that made a power to protect property a warrant for ſeizing it.

Gratitude is, doubtleſs, due from the obliged to thoſe who oblige them, as long as they do not pretend to meaſure or force their own reward, nor to uſe the others ill, upon the pure merit of having uſed them well. There is ſuch a thing as the cancelling an obligation in public as well as in private life; as when it is turned into an injury, by being made the means of oppreſſion, or a pretence for contempt or calumny. I would rather not be obliged, than ill uſed for having been obliged; and believe moſt men are of my mind.

A ſtate may ſometimes over-pay a benefactor; but ſcarce any ſubject can do more for the ſtate than he owes it. We owe all things to our country, becauſe in our country is contained every thing that is dear to us, our relations, our fortunes, and ourſelves: and our labours, our ſtudies, and our lives, are all due, upon occaſion, to our country, which protects us in them all. But when we have dedicated all theſe to the ſtate, it is far from being true, that the ſtate ought to ſacrifice itſelf, or venture any part of its ſecurity, to make us recompence. To ſave it from others, in order to ſeize it ourſelves, is ſo far from entitling us to any reward but that of reſentment and death,

that, as it is adding the baſe crimes of treachery and ingratitude to the cruel crime of uſurpation, no foreign foe can be half ſo wicked and deteſtable as ſuch an inteſtine traytor, who calls himſelf a friend.

Spurius Melius thought himſelf an unqueſtionable benefactor to the *Roman* people, for having beſtowed on them *gratis* a large quantity of corn in a time of dearth; by which falſe bounty he gained the hearts of the many, who ſaw not into his deſign of bribing and feeding them, in order to enſlave them: but *Servilius Ahala*, who killed him, was a much greater and real benefactor; becauſe in *Melius* he ſlew their moſt dangerous enemy. *T. Manlius* defended the capitol bravely and generouſly; but when, not content with the many honours that were done him for a worthy action, he would have unworthily oppreſſed *Rome* itſelf for having ſaved part of it, he was juſtly thrown headlong from that very capitol.

Cæſar and *Marius* were the moſt ungrateful monſters that ever lived: they had done brave things, not for the ſtate, as the event ſhewed, but for themſelves; and the ſtate covered them with honours, adorned them with magiſtracies and triumphs, loaded them with benefits, and purſued them even to profuſion, with all public and ſpendid marks of reſpect. But all this could not ſatisfy theſe ſhameleſs great men, unleſs they had a power granted them perpetual and enormous, a power deſtructive of all liberty, and of the ſtate that gave it. And ſo they barbarouſly oppreſſed the ſtate that exalted them.

On what ſide, in this inſtance, did the ingratitude lie? Is there a pretence for charging that generous people with this baſe vice, or for acquitting theſe parricides from the blackeſt? If the prince of *Orange*, having at the head of the *Dutch* troops driven the invading *French* out of the ſeven provinces, had enſlaved the ſtates with their own forces, becauſe, perhaps,

they had refuſed to deliver up their government to his will and pleaſure, and to give him a power to oppreſs them, as a reward for having defended them; who would have been ungrateful in this caſe, the prince or the ſtates? They for refuſing to be ſlaves, or he for making them ſlaves?

The people loſe much more by their generoſity to their benefactors, than the benefactors loſe by the ingratitude or ſtingineſs of the people, whoſe fault is almoſt always on the other ſide. By giving them too much, they often tempt and enable them to take all; as in the caſes of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Cæſar*, *Piſiſtratus*, *Agathocles*, *Oliver Cromwell*, the late kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and many more. But ſuppoſe it had happened ſometimes (which has rarely happened) that a worthy man ſhould not meet a proper reward from his countrymen, for public ſervices done them; it is ſtill better that he has too little, or even none, than too much; and a worthy man will never ſeek revenge upon his country, for a miſtake in his merit; a miſtake which may be eaſily committed, and is at worſt pardonable. But a man who has ſerved his country, and then turns it upſide down, becauſe that it has not, or he thinks that it has not, given him reward enough, ſhews that he deſerved none.

Sometimes a man's ill deeds balance his good, and then he pays himſelf; or overbalance them, and then he is entitled more to puniſhment than reward; and both rewards and puniſhments ought to be faithfully paid: though there is generally more crime and inſecurity in not puniſhing well, than in not paying well; a fault too frequent in free ſtates, who, dazzled with great benefits, are often blind to greater offences, or overlook them, and reward before they enquire.

The deareſt and moſt valuable things are moſt apt to create jealouſies and fears about them; and the

dearest of all being liberty, as that which produces and secures all the rest, the people's zeal to preserve it has been ever called ingratitude by such as had designs against it; and others, ignorant of its value, and indifferent about it, have promoted and continued the false charge. *Shakespear*, in the tragedy of *Timon of Athens*, makes *Alcibiades*, who was banished by the state, cry out with indignation, *Oh the ungrateful spirit of a commonwealth!* And I have seen a loud and vehement clap raised upon it by those who were angry at the word *commonwealth*, though they lived under a free government: for every free state is, in a large sense, a commonwealth; and I think our own the freest in the world. In my opinion *Alcibiades*, though a brave man, was justly exiled as an ambitious and dangerous man, who behaved himself turbulently in that city, was perpetually creating or inflaming factions in it and against it; and shewed too plainly, that he aimed at overturning it for the sake of that uncontroulable power, which he could not have while its government subsisted. The citizens of *Athens* treated him with great distinction, and gave him great authority and eminent commands; and only banished him, out of fear of him, for which they had too much ground.

States have been often destroyed by being too generous and too grateful; and where they are really ungrateful, they are only so through error; to which, however, they are not so subject as absolute princes, who generally destroy their greatest men, and prefer the vilest; and in their courts pimps often ruin patriots. I think that those who most dislike free governments, do not pretend to shew above four or five instances of ingratitude in the *Roman* people, from the beginning of their commonwealth to the end of it, for several hundred years; and *Coriolanus* and *Camillus* are two of those instances.

As to *Coriolanus*, he was juſtly baniſhed, as a declared enemy to the equality of the government, and engaged in an open deſign to oppreſs the people; which deſign he executed with all fierceneſs and contempt, and even outrage, ſurrounded like a monarch with guards of the young hot-heated nobility: and though the people did him no injuſtice, yet, to be revenged upon them, he invaded his country at the head of a foreign enemy.

Camillus was guilty of the ſame partiality, though not in the ſame degree, towards the nobles, and had broke his word with the people; for both which he was baniſhed: but by ſaving his country afterwards, he glorioufly cancelled all paſt faults, and was gratefully ſtiled the ſecond founder of *Rome*, and highly honoured, and even adored to the end of his life, by that grateful people, in every inſtance where they could ſhew it. And indeed, all the ingratitude that can be charged upon them, was, their oppoſing, in their own defence, the encroachments of the nobility; and the excellent laws produced by that oppoſition ſhewed its reaſonableneſs and neceſſity.

Scipio Africanus is likewiſe mentioned as another great inſtance of ingratitude in the *Romans*. He was a great and glorious commander: he had forced *Hannibal*, the moſt dangerous foreign foe that the *Romans* ever had, out of *Italy*, which he had ravaged ſucceſsfully many years; he had conquered the ſame *Hannibal* in battle, ſubdued *Carthage* and *Africa*, and aſſiſted his brother *Aſiaticus* in conquering the great king *Antiochus*. For which extraordinary ſervices and merit he was the darling of the people; who were ſo far from being ungrateful to him, that they violated the laws of *Rome*, and of their own ſecurity, to do him honour; and not only made a youth their chief magiſtrate, but renewed the dignity ſo often, that the precedent proved pernicious to them. The extraordinary ſteps taken by him and them, and by

them for his ſake, were of dangerous example and conſequence; and, without his intending it, ſhook the foundations of *Rome*, and made way for the violent proceedings and uſurpations of *Marius*, and afterwards of *Cæſar*.

Scipio did likewiſe another thing, which ought by no means to have been ſuffered in a free ſtate. When he was cited to anſwer before the people to the crimes with which he was charged, he refuſed to anſwer. *Upon this very day, my countrymen*, ſays he, *I vanquiſhed* Hannibal; and tearing the papers that contained the charge, walked haughtily out of the aſſembly. This was diſowning or contemning the ſupream authority of *Rome*; yet the people were ſo perſonally fond of the man, that they would decree nothing ſevere againſt him. He retired to his own country houſe, where he lived peaceably all the reſt of his honourable life.

G

I am, &c,

Saturday, March 9. 1722. N°. 119.

The ſame ſubject continued.

SIR,

NO people upon earth were more grateful to their good citizens than the *Greeks* and *Romans* were, or encouraged virtue more, or rewarded it better: nor did they ſcarce ever baniſh any man till he became terrible to them; and then it was time. Nor is there one great abſolute monarchy in the world, or ever was from the beginning of it, but deſtroyed more innocent men in a month, than the commonwealth of *Rome* did in a hundred years; beſides, that a free ſtate produces more great men in fifty years, than an abſolute monarchy does in a thouſand.

Thoſe who had done any ſignal ſervice to the ſtate of *Athens*, were endowed with eminent privileges, and diſtinguiſhed with all public marks of honour: they had the firſt ſeats at public entertainments and aſſemblies; they had public ſtatues erected to them; they had crowns conferred upon them; they were exempted from duties, taxes, and contributions; they were maintained at the public charge, and ſometimes their families after them: the public reſented the injuries done them; buried them magnificently; made public orations in their praiſe; portioned out their daughters; and paid laſting honours to their name. And all this at a time when public honours were only the rewards of merit, and parſimoniouſly diſtributed.

The *Athenians* had a particular law againſt ingratitude, and as to the *Oſtraciſm*, which may ſeem to contradict it, and by which they baniſhed for ten years ſuch great men as they thought formidable to their ſtate, though they had formerly ſerved it; it ought to be conſidered in its behalf, that the *Athenians*, like other free ſtates, had ſuffered ſo much from their firſt-rate citizens, who ſuppreſſed their liberty under colour of advancing it, that they had great reaſon to be jealous of ſuch. Whoever would live in a free ſtate, muſt live upon a foot of equality; which great officers, accuſtomed to command, care not to do; and if they do not, they are juſtly removed. It is better that one man, however innocent, ſhould ſuffer, than a whole people be ruined, or even hurt, if not by him, yet by his example: nor ought they to ſhew, in one inſtance that cannot harm them, an indulgence, which in other and future inſtances may be their overthrow. Beſides, the *Oſtraciſm* took nothing from any man, but a power of hurting every man: it affected not their goods, nor their perſons, nor even their good name; and left them their full poſſeſſions, and their full liberty every where but at *Athens*; whither, after ten years, they had a right to return, and were often recalled much ſooner. It was likewiſe made uſe of ſometimes only to pacify the fury of the envious, and to protect the innocent from it; and when baſe fellows came at laſt to be baniſhed by it, it was laid aſide.

The firſt purpoſe of the *Oſtraciſm* was, to keep public benefactors from turning public parricides, great men from being too great, ſubjects from growing too powerful for the ſtate; ----- a reaſonable precaution, and practiſed ſome way or other by every ſtate in the world: nor can any ſtate ſubſiſt where it is not practiſed. Even in *England*, the hanging of two or three great men among the many guilty, once in a reign or two, would have prevented much evil and

many dangers and oppreſſions, and ſaved this nation many millions.

If we now conſider abſolute monarchy, we ſhall find it grafted upon ingratitude, which is blended with the root of it. Arbitrary princes cannot, dare not, be grateful to elevated merit, which by the tenour of their power they are obliged to dread. They only conſider their ſingle ſelves, and their ſeparate intereſt; and muſt cut off, for their own ſecurity, every man whoſe true glory may eclipſe their falſe, and who draws away, in any degree, the thoughts and eyes of the people. If they have no magnanimity of their own, they hate or fear ſuch as have; or if they are brave themſelves, they will be jealous of thoſe who are more ſo, or as much. The ſame may be ſaid of every other virtue. They may heap wealth upon buffoons, and confer dignities upon paraſites; but celebrated virtue, conſpicuous abilities, and ſignal ſervices, are their eye-ſores and certain averſion. If they be hated, they will not bear that any one ſhall be eſteemed; and if they be valued themſelves, they will hate rivals.

Under moſt of the *Roman* emperors, popular virtue was certain death; *ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium;* and thoſe who ſerved them moſt, were ſureſt of deſtruction; *nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala. Germanicus*, who ſaved the empire of *Tiberius*, his uncle and father by adoption, by reconciling to him the mutinous and revolted legions, was the firſt great ſacrifice to his jealouſy, being poiſoned in *Aſia*, whither he was ſent under pretence of commanding it. Thus *Nero* too rewarded *Corbulo;* and thus *Domitian* rewarded *Agricola*; both the greateſt officers of their time, and the greateſt benefactors to theſe ungrateful tyrants, who aimed at cutting up virtue by the roots; nor did *Veſpaſian*, the firſt *Roman* emperor that changed for the better, prove much more grateful to *Antonius Primus*, who

had ſignally ſerved him, and paved his way to the imperial diadem.

It were endleſs to mention other abſolute monarchies. They are all animated by the ſame ungrateful, cruel, and ſuſpicious ſpirit, and make havoc of every thing that is good, deſtroying faſteſt thoſe who ſerve them moſt. If they be ever grateful, they are only ſo to the vileſt inſtruments of their tyranny; but for ſuch as ſerve them againſt their foreign foes with juſt and popular glory, they are generally ſacrificed to their endleſs jealouſy of every thing that is noble. *Beliſarius* is an affecting inſtance of this; an illuſtrious general, who, in the decline of the *Roman* empire, did, as it were, new-conquer the world for his royal maſter; and, for his reward, was ſtripped of all that he had, and turned off to beg his bread with his eyes put out.

It is a fine obſervation of *Tacitus; Neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, neque libertinum quidem præponere armis, regia utilitas eſt:* "It is the buſineſs and ſpeci-
"al intereſt of an abitrary prince, that his forces be
"commanded neither by a nobleman, nor by a free-
"man, nor, indeed, by any man who is two degrees
"removed from a ſlave." Or, if ſuch princes be obliged by the neceſſity of their affairs to employ an illuſtrious perſon in an important command, they always employ him with fear; and when their turn is ſerved, and he has made them ſafe, diſmiſs him into obſcurity with contempt, if he eſcape ſo well; for all their ſuſpicions generally end in blood. *Machiavel*, who knew this well ſays, That a great and ſucceſsful general, under an arbitrary prince, has but two ways to eſcape the certain ruin which his glory, ſervices, and renown, will elſe bring upon him: he muſt either quit the army, and, retiring from all power, live like a private man; or depoſe his maſter, and ſet up himſelf: which laſt is generally the ſafer courſe.

It is well known how the *Ottoman* monarchs reward their braveſt *Baſhaws*. The ſucceſsful and unfortunate have the ſame fate: as the latter are ſacrificed to rage, the other are to jealouſy: even their own ſons have been recompenſed with death, for deſerving eſteem. Nor is that cruel ingratitude peculiar to one race or family of princes, but eternally attached to that ſort of power where ever it is found.

But far different is the ſpirit of the people: they are prone to gratitude, and laviſh in their affections and returns for benefits received. Nothing is too much or too high for their benefactor, or for one whom they think ſo. They are apt to continue blind to his faults, even when he has forfeited their favour; and to remain conſtant in their zeal to his name and poſterity, in inſtances where they ought to deteſt both. This is abundantly exemplified and confirmed by the laſting reſpect and reverence paid by the *Romans* to thoſe plagues of *Rome*, and of the earth, the family of the *Cæſars*; by the *French*, to the ſtupid and ſanguinary poſterity of *Charlemain*; by the *Turks*, to the bloody family of *Ottoman*; by the *Ægyptians*, to their luxurious and contemptible *Ptolemies*; by the *Jews*, to the cruel race of the *Aſmonæans*, or *Maccabees*; by the *Parthians*, to the barbarous line of the *Arſacides*; and by almoſt every inſtance of every people in the world. I could mention inſtances here at home, but they will occur faſt enough to every reader who knows any thing of our hiſtory. The people are indeed grateful and conſtant, even to ſuperſtition, to perſons and names to which they conceive themſelves once obliged: nor do they ever act ungratefully, but where they are firſt deceived by thoſe whom they truſt. The people of *Athens*, deceived by ſome of their *Demagogues*, put once to death ſome of their ſea officers, who did not deſerve it; but they ſoon grew apprized of their error, and were ſeverely revenged upon the traiterous calumniators who cauſed it.

Several inſtances may, no doubt, be found of the people's ingratitude to their friends, and of the contrary quality in ſome abſolute monarchs. But exceptions do not weaken the rule.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, March 16. 1722. N°. 120.

Of the proper uſe of words.

SIR,

AS I have in former papers treated of the abuſe of words; ſo I ſhall, in this, diſcourſe about the uſe of them. They are the ſigns of ideas, as figures are of numbers; and are intended to convey the conceptions of men to one another: they have no more meaning in themſelves than inarticulate ſounds, till men have agreed to put a meaning upon them, which meaning is wholly arbitrary; and therefore unleſs they mean the ſame things by the ſame words, that is, annex the ſame conceptions to the ſame ſounds, they cannot underſtand one another, or diſcourſe together. If one man annex more or leſs ideas to the ſame words that another does whom he reaſons with, it is impoſſible that they ſhould agree in concluſions; when their premiſes are different, their reaſonings will be a game at blindman's-buff: and therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary, in all diſputes, to ſettle the meanings of the terms made uſe of, before any thing can be affirmed or denied on either ſide.

A word not ſtanding for any idea, is only a bare ſound; and it is no more, to one who knows not

what idea it ſtands for. The agreeing therefore in ſounds, and not agreeing in the meaning of them, is no agreement at all; and though this may be a good teſt of orthodoxy amongſt ſome ſets of eccleſiaſtics, yet I will preſume to ſay, that it is none in common ſenſe. It appears to me, that moſt of the polemic quarrels in the world have flowed from this inobſervance. Men uſe the ſame ſounds to expreſs different conceptions, either in whole or in part; that is, one man comprehends more or leſs ideas in the terms which he makes uſe of than another, and then makes uſe of other words equally uncertain to explain that meaning; and ſo in a few propoſitions quite loſes his argument, and the combatants quarrel about what they have been talking of. But though this manner of ſcuffling in the dark be a great obſtruction, and almoſt an unſurmountable bar to all ſorts of uſeful knowledge, yet it highly conduces to the power and credit of thoſe who derive riches and authority from the ignorance and credulity of others.

It gives them the reputation of learning, for talking unintelligibly: it enables them to diſcourſe upon all ſubjects alike, and to fetch every thing out of every thing; for, by not explaining their words, they make them ſignify what they pleaſe, and vary them as often as they have occaſion: ſo that in the courſe of a debate they have ſailed in all the points of the compaſs. This abuſe is yet more obſervable and miſchievous in tranſlations from one language to another; for, as few or no men underſtand a dead language, in many reſpects, in the ſenſe which it was ſpoken in (and indeed few men of the ſame country, and the ſame language, ſpeak many words in the ſame ſenſe that their anceſtors ſpoke them, the meaning of words, like all other things, being in perpetual rotation) and as few words in any language, ſuch as comprehend complex ideas, are exactly anſwered by correſpondent words in any other, that is, do not

contain juſt the ſame number of ideas; ſo it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, in many inſtances, to make an exact tranſlation; and, conſequently, very eaſy to make a falſe one: and therefore it is very ridiculous (to call it by no worſe a name) in controverted points, to build an hypotheſis upon the ſignification of ſingle words in a dead language (which, perhaps, was tranſlated from another language) when we neither know their manner of ſpeaking, the philoſophy and ſpeculations which they were converſant with, nor the cuſtoms to which they alluded, and are very ſure that they were different from our own, and, in many inſtances, had not the ſame common conceptions or images.

But it is not enough that we muſt have what are often called ideas to our words, but they muſt be adequate ones; for all inadequate are no ideas; that is, they muſt be adequate as far as they are ideas: what ſtands for no conception, ſtands for nothing; and the word uſed can only ſtand for the conception, ſuch as it is, and as far as it goes; and when the conception goes no farther, no word can ſtand for that which is not. It is certain, that there is no one thing in the univerſe, of which we can have an adequate conception in the ſtrict ſenſe of thoſe words; but we convey by words only ſuch conceptions as we have, which poſſibly do not exhauſt the millionth part of their properties; but then we are in the dark as to all the reſt, and neither can affirm or deny any thing about them: and if one man take any more or leſs ideas in the term he makes uſe of than another, he does not talk with him to the ſame point.

One man has no conception of gold but by the colour, and he will call princes-metal gold; another knows it by it weight, fineneſs, and touch; and if a new metal ſhould be diſcovered, which anſwers all theſe marks, and ſhould yet want ſome medicinal

qualities, or, perhaps, the ſame ſolubility which gold has, yet he will ſtill call it gold, according to the properties which his imagination has annexed to the word gold; and all theſe three will be called by the ſame name, and yet different metals will be meant; and every one of theſe conceptions, as far as they go, are adequate, though neither of them are ſo to the ſubject, which has undoubtedly many properties which no one knows any thing of: but then we do not reaſon upon thoſe properties, nor do the ſounds which we uſe ſtand for them.

From what has been ſaid appears the abſurdity of being told, that we muſt believe things which we do not underſtand; or of believing things above reaſon, though not contrary to reaſon. We muſt have ideas, or images, of all objects of belief, or elſe we believe in nothing, but that we hear a ſound; and it is the ſame thing to us whether it ſignify any thing or not, if we do not know what it ſignifies. If a man make a propoſition to me in the *Chineſe* language, and tell me that I muſt believe it, nothing here can be the object of my faith, but that the man does not tell me a lye, which has nothing to do with the propoſition itſelf; and it would have been the ſame thing to me, if he had told me that I muſt believe in his thought, without telling me what that thought was; and there can be no difference, if he uſe words in a language which I am acquainted with, if I do not underſtand the meaning in which he uſes thoſe words.

From whence appears the ridicule of a late ſect in *Holland*, and of many other viſionary madmen, at home, who think that the ſcripture is to be for the moſt part underſtood metaphorically, and find meanings in it which the words do not naturally import; which is making the Almighty ſpeak in riddles to his creatures, and obliging them to pay largely out of their ſubſtance to thoſe who make them yet greater riddles. What can be more abſurd and wicked, than

to ſuppoſe, that the great and good God ſhould ſpeak to mankind with a deſign not to be underſtood? ſhould give them a rule to act by, yet expreſs that rule in words which few can pretend to apprehend, and thoſe few differ about? Certainly, as has been ſaid, words are of no uſe but to convey ideas; and if they be not uſed in their common acceptation, to ſignify thoſe conceptions which cuſtom has annexed to them, or ſuch as men ſhall agree to put upon them, then they muſt be perfectly uſeleſs, will convey no ideas at all, can give us no rule, nor can communicate any knowledge.

It is certain, as has been ſaid, that no man's perceptions can exhauſt the properties of any one thing in the world: all that we know of them is from a few obvious qualities which affect our ſenſes; but without doubt they have thouſands of others, of which we know nothing; much leſs can we know any thing of their *ſubſtratum*, or internal eſſence, or contexture: but then neither can we believe any thing of thoſe hidden eſſences, or qualities, nor do we mean any thing about them when we talk of any being or ſubſtance. As in the inſtance before given; if a man carry to a goldſmith a ſolid ſubſtance, and aſk him what he thinks it to be, and the goldſmith look upon the colour, touch it, weigh it, and melt it, and then tell him that he believes it to be gold; it is certain that the goldſmith neither believes nor affirms any thing about it, further than of its colour, its touch, its weight, and its ſolubility, which are his ideas of gold: but gold has, without queſtion, many other properties which he has never heard of; but then he does not take in thoſe properties in his perception of gold; and he neither does nor can believe any thing about them, till he has formed ſome idea of thoſe hidden qualities.

This leads me to conſider what men mean, when they ſay that they believe in a myſtery. We muſt

underſtand the meaning of the words connected, and of the verb which connects them, and makes them a propoſition, or elſe we believe in nothing; that is, we muſt have a perception of all thoſe ideas which the words ſtand for in our imaginations; and ſo far it is no myſtery. But then we may be told, that the beings, to which we have annexed thoſe ideas, and by which we diſtinguiſh them from other beings, may, and undoubtedly have, many other qualities, or properties, that we know nothing of: an aſſertion which muſt be granted to be true of every thing in nature. And in this ſenſe every thing is a myſtery, and every man will readily believe ſuch a myſtery. But then if we be told, that we muſt believe in the properties, or qualities, of which we know nothing, or have any idea; I think that the myſtery will then conſiſt in the nonſenſe of the propoſition; and it is the ſame thing to tell us, that we muſt believe in *fe-fa-fum:* for, a man cannot believe without believing ſomething; and he muſt know what that ſomething is, that is, he muſt know what he believes, or elſe his belief is only an abſtract word, without any ſubject to believe in, or any thing of.

Thus when we ſay, that we believe there are three perſons in the Trinity, and but one God, we muſt have diſtinct ideas to the words *Perſon*, *Trinity*, and *God:* for if men have no meaning to theſe words, they mean nothing by the propoſition; and if they annex different perceptions to them, then they have a different creed, though they fancy that they ſubſcribe the ſame. No one can know whether another be orthodox in his ſenſe, till the terms be defined, and ſtand for the ſame ideas in both their minds: to ſay, that they believe in three perſons, without telling what they mean by the word *Perſon*, is the ſame as to ſay, that they believe in three ſomethings, or in the word *Three;* which indeed is a very myſterious belief, and a pretty center of unity: for no man can believe any

thing elſe, till he has fixed a meaning to the word *Perſon*; and if another do not agree with him in that meaning, they will differ in religion, though they agree in ſounds, and perhaps in falling foul upon every one who deſires them to explain themſelves; which behaviour, amongſt too many people, is the main teſt of orthodoxy.

They muſt agree alſo in what they mean by the word *God*. I do not mean, that they muſt define his eſſence, have any adequate notion of his infinity, eternity, or of the *ſenſorium* of his exiſtence; for of theſe things we neither know, nor can know, any thing: but we muſt know what we mean by the ſound which we make uſe of: that is, we muſt have a perception of thoſe images annexed to the word *God* in our minds, and a perception adequate to itſelf, though in no-wiſe adequate and correſpondent to the ſubject; which images in different men, I doubt, are very various; and when they are ſo, theſe men plainly differ in the object of their worſhip, and are of a different religion, though they may think themſelves to be of the ſame. This ſhall be the ſubject of ſome other paper hereafter; in which I ſhall ſhew, how abſurd as well as impious it is, for men to fall together by the ears upon the account of their difference in trifles, when they ſcarce agree in any one thing in the world, if they explain themſelves, not even in the attributes annexed to the object of all worſhip, though they can know nothing of him but from his attributes.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, March 23. 1722. N°. 121.

Of good breeding.

SIR,

GOOD breeding is the art of ſhewing men, by external ſigns, the internal regard which we have for them. It ariſes from good ſenſe, improved by converſing with good company. A well-bred fool is impertinent; and an ill-bred wiſe man, like a good inſtrument out of tune, is aukward, harſh, and diſagreeable. A courteous blockhead is, however, a more acceptable gueſt, almoſt every-where, than a rude ſage. Men are naturally ſo fond of themſelves, that they will rather miſ-ſpend their time with a complaiſant ape, than improve it with a ſurly and thwarting philoſopher. Every bow, or good word, whenceſoever it comes, is taken by us as a ſign of our importance, and a confeſſion of our merit; and the neglect of that complaiſance, as a token that we are thought of none: a reproach which, however ſilent, few care to bear.

Good breeding is never to be learned by ſtudy; and therefore they who ſtudy it are coxcombs, and formaliſts, and ſtiff pedants. The beſt-bred men, as they come to be ſo by uſe and obſervation only, practiſe it without affectation. You ſee good breeding in all that they do, without ſeeing the art of it. It is a habit; and, like all others, acquired by practiſe. A weak and ignorant man, who has lived in good company, ſhall enter a room with a better grace, and ſay common things much more agreeably, than a pro-

found wiſe man, who lives by himſelf, or with only ſuch as himſelf, and is above the forms of the world, and too important to talk of indifferent things, and to be like other people. A footman employed in *how d'ye's* ſhall addreſs himſelf to a perſon of figure with more decorum, and make a ſpeech with more eaſe, than a learned ſerjeant, who lives wholly over briefs; or the deep head of a college, occupied only in a momentous ſcience. I have known a man, who, with the learning of a whole univerſity, had the manners of a clown, and the ſurlineſs of a porter; not from the want of ſenſe, though that want be very conſiſtent with a world of learning, but from living long in a college, and dictating to boys and pupils, or with old fellows who had no more breeding than himſelf, and, like himſelf, were ſpoiled by living rarely upon the ſquare with any other ſort of people.

Good breeding therefore is never to be learned in a college, where the ſphere of converſation is ſo narrow, where the diſtance between men is ſo great, and where the old have none to teach the young. Hence you generally ſee young men come from the univerſities with a conceited air, and a quaint manner, which often turn them into fops: they are generally either pert or prim: the tone of their voice, and the poſition of their muſcles, ſhew their accompliſhments, before they have ſpoke two words: their ſtep, and the manner of uſing their legs and arms, do the ſame; and every joint about them, and every action that they do, declares the place and way of their education. As to the ſenior fellows, and heads of houſes, they are ſuch ſtarched pedants, ſuch ſolemn mamamouches, and ſuch kingly old fops, that from their mein you may know their characters, and read their titles and preferments in their hats. They carry the college about them where-ever they go, and talk at a table as they do at a lecture; or, if ſometimes they

break into gaiety, it is either imperious or inſipid, diſreſpectful or aukward, and always ungraceful: they want a good manner, leſs conceit, and the appearance, at leaſt, of more humility; all which are only to be acquired by living abroad in the world, and by converſing with all ſorts of men. This accuſtoms one to treat all men as they expect to be treated; and ſuch general good treatment given to all is called good breeding.

Hence the breeding of courts is always the eaſieſt and moſt refined. Courtiers have the conſtant advantage of living daily with the beſt-bred men: beſides, having occaſion for all ſorts of people, they accuſtom themſelves to uſe all ſorts of people civilly. By converſing with all ſorts, they can fall readily into all ſorts of ſtyles, and pleaſe every body by talking to him in his own way. They find too, by daily experience, and promiſcuous converſation, that the difference between men and men is not ſo great, as an unacquaintedneſs with men would generally make it: they are therefore under no awe, nor ſhineſs, in ſpeaking to the greateſt; nor have any general contempt for the meaneſt: a contempt which too often riſes from a wrong judgment, grounded upon pride, and continued by inexperience. They conſider, that as the greateſt can do them good, ſo the meaneſt can hurt them: they are therefore reſpectful without awe to thoſe above them, and complaiſant without diſdain to thoſe below them. Courts therefore are the beſt ſchools for good breeding; and to be well-bred we muſt live not only with the beſt ſorts of men, but muſt be acquainted with all ſorts.

The want of this general converſation may be one reaſon why the country clergy are ſo often accuſed of want of breeding. They come from the univerſity full of an opinion, that all that is to be learned is to be learned there; and believing themſelves to have already every accompliſhment, often remain without

any. In their pariſhes they can learn nothing but an additional pride, from ſeeing or fancying themſelves the biggeſt men there. If there be a ſquire in the place, he rarely mends them. If he have a delicate taſte, he will not converſe with them: but it frequently happens, that his taſte is as crude as theirs, and conſiſts in eating much, and drinking more, and talking loud. From this conceited education, and narrow converſation, ariſes their impatience of contradiction, and their readineſs to contradict. I own, that I am always cautious of reaſoning with the vicar: his firſt argument is generally an aſſertion; and his next, an affront.

An engaging manner and a genteel addreſs may be out of their power; but it is in their power to be condeſcending and affable. When people are obliging, they are ſaid to be well-bred. The heart and intention are chiefly conſidered: when theſe are found friendly and ſincere, the manner of ſhewing it, however aukward, will be kindly overlooked. Good breeding is artificial good nature; and complaiſance is underſtood to be a copy of the inviſible heart. When people are ſatisfied of one another's good-will and ſincerity, the forms they ſhew them are generally laid aſide. Between intimate friends there is little ceremony, and leſs between man and wife. Some, however, is ſtill neceſſary, becauſe by ſigns and actions the affections are ſhewn. But a courteous behaviour, which is known to mean nothing, goes for nothing, and is not neceſſary when the meaning is known to be good. Expreſſions of kindneſs, when they are not thought the marks and effects of kindneſs, are empty ſounds: and yet theſe unmeaning expreſſions are neceſſary in life. We are not to declare to every man whom we diſlike, how much we diſlike him, nor to ſhew it by dumb ſigns. When a man ſays, that he is my humble ſervant, he obliges me; not by the words, which in common ſpeech

ſignify ſcarce any thing, but becauſe by theſe words he ſhews that he thinks me worth notice. Good breeding therefore is then juſt, when the actions which it produces are thought ſincere: this is its end and ſucceſs: it muſt ſeem produced by kindneſs for the perſon for whom it is ſhewn.

Good breeding is of ſo great importance in the world, that an accompliſhment this way goes often further than much greater accompliſhments without it can do. I have known gentlemen, who with moderate parts and much good breeding have been thought great men; and have actually come to be ſo. Great abilities alone make no man's perſon amiable; ſome have been unpopular with the greateſt, and ſome even ridiculous. But the gay, the eaſy, the complaiſant man, whoſe chief abilities are in his behaviour, pleaſes and obliges all, and is amiable to as many as he obliges. To learn his behaviour, people muſt begin early. One who ſets out into the world at twenty, ſhall make twice as much progreſs in life, as one who with twice his ſenſe ſets out at forty; becauſe he is then leſs ſuſceptible of the arts of life. Habits are not to be got in a day; and after a certain age, never. Forced complaiſance is foppery; and affected eaſineſs is a monſter. I have ſeen a world of tradeſmen, and almoſt as many gentlemen, take ſuch pains to be well-bred, that I have been in pain for them: native plainneſs is a thouſand times better.

Complaiſance is ingenious flattery: it makes thoſe to whom it is paid flatter themſelves, while they take every act of complaiſance in others as the declaration of merit in themſelves: and beyond a certain degree it is not innocent. Courtiers know its efficacy ſo well, that to it alone no ſmall part of their power is owing. Hence ſo many people have always been deceived by civil words and kind looks. To know ſpeculatively the deluſions of this art, is not ſufficient to put you

upon your guard againſt it. A fair and plauſible behaviour, with a ready rote of kind expreſſions, and all the appearances of ſincerity, will be apt to miſlead you in ſpite of your fore-knowledge. They will catch your ſenſes, and beat you off your theory in politics. You muſt find their inſincerity ſome time before you will come to diſtruſt it. Their art and your own ſelf-love will conſpire againſt you, drive away your incredulity, and beget faith, as it is often begot, againſt evidence and reaſon. You will ſtill flatter yourſelf, that you are an exception to the rule, though there were never another exception. The credulity of ſome is perfectly incurable; many have continued ſteady believers, in ſpite of daily proofs and fatal experience for twenty years together. They were always perſuaded, that every promiſe was at leaſt intended to be kept, and always forgave the breaking it. The great man ſmiled graciouſly, bowed courteouſly, excuſed himſelf earneſtly; and vowed to God, that you ſhould have the next thing. You miſcarried; and then, with a concerned face, he vowed to God, that he could not help it, promiſed again with the ſame ſolemn vow, was again believed, and always believed. This wretched credulity is the fruit of ſelf-love, of an opinion that we are as conſiderable in the eyes of others as we are in our own. Mankind are governed by their weakneſſes; and all that ſtateſmen have to do to keep expecting crouds about them, and attached to them, is to promiſe violently, to ſeem violently in earneſt, and never be ſo: that is, they muſt be extremely well-bred.

Good breeding is indeed an amiable and perſuaſive thing: it beautifies the actions, and even the looks of men. But equally odious is the grimace of good breeding. In compariſon with this, bluntneſs is an accompliſhment. The ape of a well-bred man is juſt as offenſive as the well-bred man is agreeable: he is a nuiſance to his acquaintance. I am frighted at

the affected ſmile, and the apiſh ſhrug. When theſe foul copies of courtiers throw their civil grin in one's face, it is as much as one can do to avoid ſpitting in theirs. A ſtarched rogue forcing ſmiles, is a more hideous ſight than a mummy. He is a fugitive from nature; and it is notable impudence in ſuch a creature to pretend to be courteous.

As to ill-breeding, or rudeneſs, there is ſomething ſtill worſe in it than its deformity. It is immoral; it is uſing others as you would not be uſed.

G

I am, &c

Saturday, March 30. 1723. N°. 122.

Inquiry concerning the operations of the mind of man, and thoſe of other animals.

SIR,

THE world has always run riot after one whimſy or another. Aſtrology was the madneſs of the laſt age: pretended prophets, fortune tellers, conjurers, witches, apparitions, and ſuch-like ſuperſtitious fooleries, have been in requeſt in all ages. Dreamers of dreams led, and miſled, and governed mankind, for more than two thouſand years together; and they are far from being out of faſhion yet: and it is no ſmall comfort that this ſort of divination and inſtruction is left to us: for I do not find, that any ſociety of men pretend to any juriſdiction over ſleeping dreams, or to have the ſole conduct, regulation, or interpretations of them; but every man, when he is aſleep, is left at liberty to dream as he can, and to interpret

his dreams as he thinks fit: which indulgence is not allowed to our waking dreams. I ſhall therefore take the advantage of this preſent toleration of dreaming, to dream too; and though I will not vouch or be anſwerable for the truth of my dreams, yet I dare compare them with thoſe of the ancient and ſome modern philoſophers.

I conceive, that the divines of all religions have ever agreed, that the ſoul of man is a being ſeparate from the body, and in its own nature capable of ſubſiſting independent of it. I alſo conceive, that all Chriſtian divines hold, or ought to hold, that it is a diſtinct being from what we call the mind, and ſuperadded to it by the divine goodneſs, to diſtinguiſh mankind from the brute creation, to continue his being after the diſſolution of the body, and to make him an object of future rewards and puniſhments. For it is certain, that other animals have minds too; that they reaſon and reſolve, though in an inferior degree to ourſelves; and I think alſo, that it is almoſt univerſally agreed, that thoſe minds take the fate of their bodies, and die with them.

The philoſophers of all ages have ſet themſelves to work, and employed their wits, to trace the minds of brutes to their firſt ſources or principles, and ſo to account for their operations; but have differed as widely as they do in other matters about which they know nothing. Some have ſuppoſed them to be modifications of matter and motion, and operations reſulting from the organization and mechaniſm of the body, like the ſtriking of a clock, or watch, or muſic made by blowing into or ſtriking upon an inſtrument: for as the percuſſion of one body againſt another makes ſound, ſo the inſtruments or vehicles upon which or through which it hits or paſſes, modify and determine the ſpecies of it.

Theſe endeavour to illuſtrate the power of voluntary motion (namely, how a ſudden impulſe of the will

can ſet a great machine in action) by what they think is analogous to it in mechanical obſervations: as for inſtance, a little agitation of the air will turn a wind-mill, or ſail a great ſhip; and it is demonſtrable in mechanics, that a hair of a man's head, or a puff of his breath, by the help of proper ſprings, wheels, and pullies, may have force enough to move a body as big and as heavy as the world. Then they reaſon, that if the little contrivance and trifling experiments which we can make of the powers of matter and motion can convince us of its capacity to produce ſuch ſurprizing effects and operations, a machine organized by the excellent ſkill and moſt wiſe contrivance of the ſupreme architect, conſiſting too of ſuch ſubtle animal ſpirits, and of ſuch infinite ſprings, wheels and tubes, muſt have ſuitable operations, ſome of them ſuch as are not perceivable by our ſenſes, or penetrable by our capacities. They conceive, that there is ſomething in vegetation analagous to animal life; and that the difference of the appearing ſenſations between the higheſt vegetable and the loweſt animal (as for example, between the ſenſitive plant and a worm or ſnail) is ſo very little, that they can account for them both by the ſame ſyſtem of reaſoning; or rather, they are both equally unaccountable by our reaſon: and therefore, ſince the former is undoubtedly only a modus or operation of matter and motion, they think that we cannot know but the other may be ſo too.

Many pretenders to philoſophy have thought the mind of a brute animal to be part of the body, originally formed with it, and differing only from the other parts, as it has a finer contexture, and conſiſts of more ſubtle and volatile particles of matter, that cannot keep together without their caſe or ſhell, and conſequently cannot exiſt together in a ſeparate ſtate from the body; but when the organization and mecha-

niſm of its incloſure is diſſolved or broken to pieces, it muſt diſſipate into the maſs of matter again.

But the greater number have thought, that there is an *anima mundi*, or univerſal ſpirit, that permeates and actuates all matter, and is the ſource of vegetable and animal life; which ſpirit receiving its modification from, and aſſimilating itſelf to, the nature and ſtructure of the body through which it paſſes, or in which it acts, conſtitutes all the ſpecific effects and operations which we daily ſee, feel, and admire; as in the inſtances before given, the ſame wind, blown, into different inſtruments, makes different kinds of muſic.

Many of this latter ſort have fancied, that all nature is full of organized bodies, with each a particular and ſufficient portion of this univerſal and vital ſpirit annexed to or inherent in them; which bodies being in conſtant motion, fall gradually into peculiar matrixes or wombs, which are neceſſary to bring them to perfection. They think that the firſt ſeeds of all vegetables and animals (which are indeed the vegetables and animals themſelves) muſt have been formed at the creation of the world; that the ſeeds of the former muſt make their progreſſion through the veins and tubes of the vegetables of the ſame kind, to prepare them to become fruit, and to produce that groſſer ſort of ſeed which more eaſily, and by another motion, grows into the ſame kind of plant or tree again; and that thoſe of the latter muſt paſs through the body of the male to awaken the firſt life of thoſe who are ſent to be nurſed in the eggs of the female for encreaſe and expanſion; and they conceive, that experience confirms this opinion, for that an egg will not produce an animal, till the male has thrown one into it; but afterwards, by the aſſiſtance of that vital warmth which it receives from a living body (or that heat which is equivalent to it, and is neceſſary to preſerve the tender fibres and juices of infant ani-

nimals) it continues life, nouriſhes and encreaſes it, till it ſwell and break out of its firſt incloſure, and be ſtrong enough to receive groſſer nouriſhment.

It ſeems to me, that the generation or production of vegetables is analogous to, if not the ſame with, that of animals, and that they both receive their firſt nouriſhment and encreaſe in eggs; and what are vulgarly called the ſeeds of the former, are eggs, that incloſe the minute ſpecks of entity, which are its original ſeeds or principles, or rather the whole plants or trees in miniature, nouriſh them for ſome time, and defend them againſt the injuries of exterior bodies, when they firſt expand themſelves, and ſwell out of their native beds, and their tender parts become ſuſceptible of outward violence. It is evident, that if we break up new or maiden ground, many ſorts of vegetables will ſpontaneouſly ariſe, which have undoubtedly their proper ſeeds in the earth, and as undoubtedly none of thoſe groſs ſeeds which produce the ſame plant again; and it is plain, that the latter are ſubject to be deſtroyed by exterior accidents, and to decay and die; which the others are not, but very probably have had an unmoleſted exiſtence from the beginning of time, and would have continued in their firſt ſtate, if they had not received a fermentation, and found a proper matrix, by the opening the fibres and bowels of the earth; which matrix muſt be different from what multiplies the ſame ſpecies afterwards.

There have been other ſects of philoſophers (if folly may be called by that name) who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſuppoſing the mind and ſoul to be the ſame being, and conſequently enjoyed in common by other animals, as well as men; and they have ſuppoſed this being, not only to be different too from the body, and capable in its own nature, not only of ſubſiſting independent of it, but believed that it received prejudice, and was reſtrained from the free uſe of many of its faculties, by its impriſonment and

union with the body; and yet, when it was diſcharged from its goal, was at liberty, capable or obliged to enter into ſome other organized body, to animate it, and to perform the functions of it. This was the opinion of the tranſmigrators of ſouls formerly, but is juſtly rejected by very many Chriſtians; is contray to revelation, and would put brute animals upon a level with mankind: for it cannot be denied that other living creatures have minds, and as certainly no ſouls; nor are they capable of juſt or unjuſt actions, or of receiving future rewards and puniſhments due to thoſe actions.

It is certain that they have minds, and conſequently thought; reflection upon paſt actions, or memory; ſenſations of pleaſure and pain; and in many inſtances they judge well of their own intereſts, and chooſe proper means to attain them: and mankind have not only the above qualities in common with them, but poſſeſs them in a greater degree; and over and above enjoy, by the bounty of heaven, immortal ſouls, capable of continuing their duration to all eternity; of which ſome traces are diſcoverable in our nature, and the reſt are aſcertained to us by revelation, which man alone is capable of receiving: but how this ſuperadded being operates upon and controuls the actions of the mind and body, we ſeem to be wholly in the dark; but it is certain that in ſome reſpects they are all blended together, co-operate, and act as one being; and therefore are anſwerable for their joint actions, and are to take the ſame fate at laſt, when they come to be united again. However, in this diſcourſe it may be proper to conſider them ſeparately, and not to impute the mechanical operations of matter and motion immediately to our immortal part; eſpecially in ſuch inſtances as are the ſame, or analogous to the actions of brutes, who are wholly mortal.

Therefore, if we conſider this energy, or principle, called *Mind*, as ſeparate from an human ſoul, we

ſhall find, that it mingles with, animates, and informs the bodies of men, and of all animals; and whether it be only a modification of matter and motion, whether ſubtle, volatile, and elaſtic particles of matter, called animal ſpirits; whether it be elementary fire, or what the ancients called *anima mundi*, or *divinæ particula auræ*, that is, a particle of the ſoul of the univerſe, or a ſpark or impulſe of the divinity; or whatever elſe it be unknown to us; it is moſt certain, that its power and action over ſome ſorts of organized bodies is very ſurprizing, and not to be accounted for by any other ſyſtem of matter and motion which falls within our comprehenſions; nor can I conceive it poſſible that it ever ſhould be: for how ſhould any being trace its own principles, and the cauſes which gave it being, know what it was before it was, or be able to think how it came to think, unleſs by reſolving all thinking into the power of its Creator? To know the modus of creation is the next ſtep to creation, and to a creature's creating itſelf, or another being like itſelf, and rendering the *opus operatum*, or the work performed, equally or near as valuable as the artificer.

The powers of this principle are very ſtupendous. We ſeem to owe to this moſt, if not all our ſenſations, appetites, affections, and paſſions, which obviouſly receive conſtant alteration by the addition of new and adventitious particles of matter, which muſt more or leſs be penetrated and inſpired with his ſpirit, which unites to what is called the mind, as the groſſer parts do to the body; for neither can grow but by addition, or be leſſened but by ſubtraction, though their actions may be, and are often clogged by internal and external impediments. Our deſires and fears, which appear to direct, and indeed comprehend, all the actions of the mind, are only paſſions, or perturbations of it, made by the impreſſions of external and internal cauſes; and what we call

judgment ſeems to me to be no more than a ſtruggle of thoſe paſſions, or, in other words, the balance of the conveniences or inconveniences which will reſult from what we deſire or fear, and the heavier ſcale muſt weigh down.

When a proper proportion of this active force is duly diffuſed through the whole machine, it will equally receive or reſiſt the impreſſions of objects; the paſſions will be alike balanced, and conſequently our thoughts and actions will be regular, and what we call prudent: but if there be too little to animate the maſs, or if it meet ſuch obſtructions as hinder its energy, it becomes ſtupidity or folly; but if it abound, and over-inform its tenement, or if it be unequally diſperſed, or put or kept out of its proper place by natural or accidental obſtructions, it cauſes indiſcretion, extravagance, and, in a greater degree, madneſs. Of which ſeveral manners of thinking there are as many kinds and degrees as there are irregularities in man's conduct; and I doubt there are few men ſo equally tempered, but they have, at different times, more or leſs of all theſe qualities by the unequal ſupplies of this vital ſpirit, or by the occaſional obſtructions which it meets with. When we denominate a man mad, or a fool, we mean only that he is more ſo than moſt others of his ſpecies; for all men at times have a mixture of both, and no man's actions will always bear the teſt of juſt reaſonings; and if we could enter and look into their private thoughts, I doubt they would much leſs do ſo. All ſudden paſſion is temporary madneſs, as continued paſſion is continued madneſs; and all want of apprehenſion is folly.

Madneſs too is undoubtedly to be learned and acquired by habit and exerciſe, as well as covetouſneſs, pride, ambition, love, deſire of revenge, and other qualities: all which, carried beyond a certain degree, become madneſs; as every thing elſe is, when mens

deſires or fears, or the means choſen to attain the one, or avoid the other, are extravagant, and above human power or prudence. Nor does madneſs (as has been ſaid) depend only upon wrong organizations at firſt, or upon the original ill temperament of the juices, by an undue mixture or ſuperabundance of this active ſpirit; but often upon the fortuitous alterations which both receive afterwards by diet, phyſic, action, or accidents: for when thoſe volatile particles have been long diverted, and uſed to run in wrong and indirect chanels, the proper ones will be cloſed up, and they will have no others but the wrong ones to go in; which unequal diſtribution muſt overload ſome, and ſtarve the reſt, and make their operations as heterogeneous and irregular as their cauſes are; and daily experience ſhews, that men who have been long uſed to think or act only in one way, are very difficultly, if ever, put into another.

But of all the ſeveral ſpecies or kinds of madneſs in the world, none is ſo flagrant, catching, and miſchievous, as the madneſs of enthuſiaſm; which is ſtill the worſe, as it adopts and puts on the maſk and appearance of zeal, and often paſſes for ſobriety and inſpiration; and conſequently is incapable of a cure, becauſe it will not ſeek or accept a remedy. This ſhall be the ſubject of my two next papers; and then my dream will be out.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, April 6. 1723. N°. 123.

Inquiry concerning madneſs, eſpecially religious madneſs, called enthuſiaſm.

SIR,

I HAVE ſuppoſed, in my laſt, that our deſires and fears are paſſions or impreſſions made upon us by the actions of other beings; and that a due balance of thoſe paſſions, or equal impreſſions made upon the ſeveral parts of the machine, duly impregnated with vital ſpirit, makes it act regularly, and conſtitutes what we call prudence: but when it is over-informed, or irregularly informed, or when thoſe impreſſions are too ſtrong for the machine to grapple with, it becomes madneſs and diſtraction; for the truth of which we need only appeal to experience. Men of warm conſtitutions are eaſily animated into madneſs by fiery liquors and high food, or by occaſional ſtrokes of good or bad fortune; whereas thoſe who have not a ſufficient ſhare of vital ſpirit, are only elevated and raiſed to a proper pitch by high living, or wholly depreſſed by afflictions, as wanting vigour to reſiſt their power, whilſt nature, in the former, by an unequal ſtruggle and contention with it, over-exerts itſelf, and diſorders and ſhakes the whole machine.

This hypotheſis receives further confirmation from the methods uſually taken to cure madneſs; namely, by faſting, bleeding, or purging; which methods can operate only by removing, carrying off, or ſuffering to exhale or perſpire, the ſuperabundant particles of ſpirituous matter, which overcharge and diſorder the

fabric, till it receive a freſh fermentation from the addition of new ones, when the diſtemper again returns. Since therefore it is evident, that ſome of our thinking faculties receive addition and diminution from the action of other bodies, and from many internal and external cauſes, it muſt be equally evident, that they muſt be mortal, or periſhable in their own nature; for what is mortality but a being changing its form, ſhape, or ſtate? And what is immortality, but its continuing always the ſame? And every alteration makes it a different being in ſome reſpects from what it was before.

It ſeems therefore to me, that all the operations of our minds do not flow from our immortal ſouls; but that many of them have much lower ſources: for what can be more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe that what is immortal, and conſequently not periſhable, can be bleeded, purged, or ſtarved away, in whole or in part? or that a being independent of matter, that pervades and permeates all matter, and yet (as it is ſaid) has no extenſion, nor takes up or fills any place, can be acted upon by matter, which we cannot conceive to act otherwiſe than by contract or impulſe, and conſequently cannot affect what it cannot touch mediately or immediately; that is to ſay, either by inſtant action upon an adjoining body, or by ſtriking or gravitating upon diſtant ones, by the communication of moſt or of all which are intermediate. I do not pretend to deſcribe the *modus* of gravitation, or to explain how material ſubſtances attract one another, whether by *Lucretius*'s ſyſtem of hooked atoms, or by an elaſtic principle that God has given to every particle of matter, which keeps it in conſtant motion, and by impelling all contiguous parts; which motion muſt force the more denſe bodies together, the more ſubtle and thin ones not being able to reſiſt their power, and interrupt their union.

It is highly probable, if not certain, that every part of matter is affected more or leſs by all parts of matter; and therefore the greater the quantity is that is united together, the more it muſt impel ſome bodies, and reſiſt others; and when any part of matter is kept from having its full influence and operation upon a denſe and aggregate ſubſtance by the interpoſition of another, acted upon by the motion of bodies encompaſſing it, then it ſeems evident that thoſe two ſubſtances muſt meet together, unleſs ſome other power hinders their junction; for all circumambient bodies having their full force upon them, exept in thoſe parts which look towards one another, and they ſtill preſerving their own force and intrinſic motion, muſt neceſſarily gravitate, and more where they meet with the leaſt oppoſition. But whether this be the true cauſe of gravitation, or whether we ſhall ever know the cauſe of it whilſt we are in theſe frail bodies, ſtill I conceive that we are under no neceſſity to recur immediately to the firſt cauſe, when we cannot dive into his manner of governing the univerſe; nor, ſince we want faculties to conceive how he has united the ſoul to the body, are we to determine it to be done in a manner which apparently contradicts the nature of both; but we ought to leave and ſubmit thoſe ſearches to the ſecret decrees of providence, and to the time of the laſt reſurrection, when our minds and bodies will be as immortal as our ſouls, and when poſſibly all theſe matters may be revealed to us.

I think therefore it is pretty evident, by what I have ſaid in this paper and the laſt, as well as from conſtant obſervation, that madneſs is a ſuperabundance of vital ſpirits; which muſt burſt their veſſel, if they do not overflow, or be let out by tapping; but which way ſoever they find their evacuation, they generally ferment firſt, and make a terrible combuſtion within. This is the devil which haunts us, and often carries away part of an empty houſe, or blows

it up. If he aſcend to our garrets, or upper regions, he diſorders the brain, and ſhews viſions, airy and romantic images and appearances, carries the hero out of himſelf, and then ſends him armed *cap-a-pee* in wild expeditions, to encounter windmills, and giants of his own making; till at laſt he return home (if ever he return home) tranſported with his victory, and in his own opinion a moſt conſummate knight-errant.

Whenever the mind cannot be confined within its incloſure, but flies like *Phaeton* into the great abyſs, and gives the full reigns to imagination, it will quickly be carried out of its knowledge, and ramble about where-ever fancy, deſire, or viſion, leads it. It will quickly riſe above humanity, become proper converſation for the celeſtial beings; and, when once it can perſuade itſelf into ſuch angelical company, will certainly deſpiſe all other; and the man who is animated by it will think that he has a right to govern all. If the exceſs of any paſſion be madneſs, the exceſs of them altogether is exorbitant and outragious madneſs; and whoever can it into his head, that he has ſecret communications with the Deity, muſt have all his paſſions at work together. The awe of a divine preſence muſt ſtrike him ſtrongly with fear and reverence: the fancied indulgence and condeſcenſion ſhewn him, muſt raiſe the higheſt love, adoration, and tranſports of joy: ſo viſible a partiality of the Deity to him beyond other men, muſt create pride, and contempt towards others: ſuch a ſupport and aſſiſtance muſt inſpire the higheſt courage and reſolution to overcome all oppoſition: hatred, and revenge, to all who do not believe him, will bring up the rear. At laſt the jumble of all theſe paſſions, with many more, will make an accompliſhed reformer of mankind.

Religious enthuſiaſm, therefore, is a flaming conceit that we have great perſonal intereſt with the

Deity, and that the Deity is eminently employed about us, or in us; that he warms and ſolaces our hearts, guides our underſtandings and our ſteps, determines our will, and ſets us far above thoſe who have leſs pride and more ſenſe than our ſelves. The enthuſiaſt heats his own head by extravagant imaginations, then makes the all-wiſe ſpirit of God to be the author of his hot head; and having worked up his brains into the clouds, deſpiſes and hates all that are below, and, if he can, kills them, unleſs they ſubmit to be as mad as himſelf; for, becauſe he takes his own phrenſy for inſpiration, you muſt be guided by his phrenſy; and if you are not, you are a rebel to God, and 'tis ten to one but he has a call to put you to death.

I have but a bad opinion of that devotion which is raiſed by a crazed head, and can be improved by a dram, and a hot ſun, or the aſſiſtance of wine; or can be leſſened by cold weather, or by letting of blood. It is great madneſs, mixed with preſumption, to pretend to have the ſpirit of God, unleſs we can ſhew it by doing works which only God's ſpirit can do; that ſpirit which can do all things, but fooliſh things. Enthuſiaſm is doubtleſs a fever in the head, and, like other fevers, is ſpreading and infectious; and all the zeal of the enthuſiaſt is only an ambition to propagate his fever.

You never knew a madman of any ſort, who was not wiſer than all mankind, and did not deſpiſe his whole race, who were not bleſſed with the ſame obliquity of head. Thoſe in *bedlam* think, that they are all mad who are out of it; and the madmen out of *bedlam*, pity the madmen in it. The *virtuoſo*, or dealer in butterflies, who lays himſelf out in the ſcience of blue and brown beetles, thinks all ſcience but his own to be uſeleſs or trifling. The collectors of old books are of opinion, that learning, which is intended to improve and enlighten the underſtanding, is

inſeparable from duſt, and dirt, and obſcurity, or contemptible without them. The pedant loads his heavy head with old words, and ſcorns all thoſe who are not accompliſhed with the ſame lumber.

Now all theſe madmen, and many more who might be added, are harmleſs enthuſiaſts; and their pride being part of their madneſs, is only a jeſt. But your holy enthuſiaſt is often a miſchievous madman, who, out of pure zeal for God, deſtroys his creatures, and plagues, and haraſſes, and kills them for their good. The *Saracens*, a barbarous, poor, and deſert nation, half-naked, without arts, unſkilled in war, and but half-armed, animated by a mad prophet, and a new religion, which made them all mad; over-run and conquered almoſt all *Aſia*, moſt part of *Africa*, and a part of *Europe*. Such courage, fierceneſs, and miſchief, did their enthuſiaſm inſpire! It is amazing how much they ſuffered, and what great things they did, without any capacity of doing them, but a religion which was ſtrong in proportion as it wanted charity, probability, and common ſenſe.

They ſaw rapturous viſions in the air, of beautiful damſels richly attired, holding forth their arms, and calling to them for their embraces; and being animated by ſuch powerful deities, no enterprize was too hard for them. They ſcarce ever departed from any ſiege, however inferior to it in military arts or numbers. Their conſtant rule was to fight till they had ſubdued their enemies, either to their religion, or to pay tribute. They had God and his great apoſtle on their ſide, and were obſtinately determined to die, or to conquer; and therefore they always did conquer. And their ſucceſs confirmed their deluſion; for finding that they performed greater actions than any other race of mankind ever did, or could do, they believed themſelves aſſiſted by heaven; and ſo eſteemed their madneſs to be inſpiration. And then it was very natural to believe, that they were the ſole

favourites of the Almighty, who interpoſed thus miraculouſly in their behalf; that they were employed to do his work; that all the good things of this world were but juſt rewards of their obedience; and conſequently that it was their duty to plunder, diſtreſs, kill, and deſtroy all who reſiſted the will of God, and denied to give to them their undoubted right.

Now what was able to withſtand theſe inſpired ſavages; who if they lived and conquered, had this world, or, which was better, if they were killed, had the next? They were ſure either of empire or paradiſe; a paradiſe too, which gratified their carnal appetites. There is no dealing with an armed enthuſiaſt: if you oppoſe real reaſon to his wild revelations, you are curſed; if you reſiſt him you are killed. It ſignifies nothing to tell him, that you cannot ſubmit to the impulſes of a ſpirit which you have not, and do not believe; and that when you have the ſame ſpirit, you will be of the ſame mind: no, perhaps, that very ſpirit has told him, that he muſt kill you for not having it, though you could no more have it, than you could be what you were not.

Don Quixote was a more reaſonable madman: he never beat, nor famiſhed, nor tortured the unbelieving *Sancho*, for having a cooler head than his own, and for not ſeeing the extraordinary miracles and viſions which he himſelf ſaw. If a man ſee battles in the air, or armies riſing out of the ſea, am I to be perſecuted or ill uſed becauſe I cannot ſee them too, when they are not to be ſeen? Or ought not rather their diſtracted *ſeer* to be ſhut up in a dark room, where no doubt he will have the ſame ſights, and be equally happy in his own imaginations? As there is no reaſoning with an enthuſiaſt, there is no way to be ſecure againſt him, but by keeping from him all power, with which he will be ſure to play the devil in

God's name. I would not hurt him for his ravings; but I would keep him from hurting me for not raving too.

All men who can get it into their own heads, that they are to ſubdue others to their opinions, reaſonings and ſpeculations, are enthuſiaſts or impoſtors, madmen or knaves. Almighty God has given no other light to men to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, or impoſture from revelation, but their reaſon; and in all the addreſſes which he himſelf makes to them, appeals to that reaſon. He has formed us in ſuch a manner, as to be capable of no other kind of conviction; and conſequently can expect no other from us: it muſt therefore be the laſt degree of impudence, folly, and madneſs, in impotent, fallible and faithleſs men, to aſſume greater power over one another, than the Almighty exerciſes over us all.

The appointing judges in controverſy, is like ſeting people at law about what they are both in poſſeſſion of. A man can have no more than all that he is contending for; and therefore I can compare the quarrelling of two men about their religion, to nothing elſe in nature, but to the battle between prince *Volſcius* and prince *Prettyman* in the *rehearſal*, becauſe they were not both in love with the ſame miſtreſs.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, April 13. 1723. N°. 124.

Further reaſonings upon enthuſiaſm.

SIR,

BEſides the flaming enthuſiaſm mentioned in our laſt, which is there ſuppoſed to be inſpired by a ſuper-abundance of ſpirits, labouring for evacuation; and ſhaking, diſordering, and ſometimes burſting its tenement to get ready vent, (like gun-powder in a granado or mine, or ſubterraneous fire encloſed in the bowels of the earth;) there ſeems to me to be another ſort of religious enthuſiaſm, not at all miſchievous, but rather beneficial to the world; and this has ſhewn itſelf in ſeveral ages, and under ſeveral denominations. There is much to be read of it in the myſtic writers in all times. Hermits ſeem to be inſpired with it, and ſeveral ſects have built their innocent ſuperſtitions upon it; as the *Alumbrati* in *Spain*, the Quietiſts in *Italy*, the *French* prophets lately amongſt us; and I doubt, a very great party in *Europe*, called *Quakers*, owe their riſe and increaſe to it. Having mentioned this laſt ſect, I think myſelf obliged to declare, that I eſteem them to be a great, induſtrious, modeſt, intelligent, and virtuous people; and to be animated with the moſt beneficent principles of any ſect which ever yet appeared in the world. They have a comprehenſive charity to the whole race of mankind, and deny the mercies of God to none. They publicly own, that an univerſal liberty is due to all; are againſt impoſitions of every kind, yet patiently ſubmit to many themſelves, and perhaps are

the only party amongſt men, whoſe practices, as a body, correſpond with their principles.

I am not aſhamed to own, that I have with great pleaſure read over Mr. *Barclay's Apology* for *Quakeriſm*; and do really think it to be the moſt maſterly, charitable, and reaſonable ſyſtem that I have ever ſeen. It ſolves the numerous difficulties raiſed by other ſects, and by turns thrown at one another; ſhews all parts of ſcripture to be uniform and conſiſtent; and as Sir *Iſaac Newton*, by allowing him gravitation, has accounted for all the phænomena of nature, ſo if we will allow Mr. *Barclay* thoſe operations of the ſpirit, which the *Quakers* pretend to feel, and which he ſays every man in the world has and may feel, if he watch its motions, and do not ſuppreſs them; I think that all the jangling vain queſtions, numerous ſuperſtitions, and various oppreſſions, which have plagued the world from the beginning, would ceaſe and be at an end.

But this poſtulatum will not be granted, and I fear will never be proved; though ſuch a diſcovery be much to be wiſhed, and the opinion of it alone muſt render thoſe very happy, who can perſuade themſelves that they have attained to it. Mr. *Aſgil* wrote and publiſhed a book, to prove that all true believers (that is, all who had attained a ſpirit like this) ſhall be tranſlated without paſſing through death; and, as I doubt not but he believed his own dream himſelf, ſo if he had publiſhed it before any man had actually died, I cannot ſee how it could have been anſwered, or how it can be anſwered now, but by oppoſing fact to it, and by making the words *eternal death* ſignify eternal life in torments, which liberty no language will bear in other diſputes; and yet his doctrine cannot be aſſented to, without ſuppoſing that no man ever had faith but *Elias* and *Enoch*; which is a very wild ſuppoſition.

For the ſame reaſon, I cannot concur with Mr. *Barclay*, in believing that all men who cannot find this ſpirit in themſelves, do or have ſuppreſſed it; for I believe that there are many thouſands, in all reſpects equally virtuous with himſelf, who have actually tried all experiments of watching, internal prayer, outward and inward reſignation, ſeparation from worldly thoughts and actions, acquieſcence of mind, and ſubmiſſion to the operations of the Deity, yet have found themſelves, after all, juſt where they ſet out; nor could recollect any thing that happened to them in thoſe intervals, but abſence of thought; and therefore, till I can feel ſomething in myſelf, or diſcover ſome traces in others, which I cannot account for from lower motives, I ſhall take the liberty to call the pretenders to it, enthuſiaſts: though I muſt confeſs, that all or moſt religious parties have laid claim to this ſpirit upon certain occaſions, and have beſtowed it upon their founders, or particular men amongſt them; and the *Quakers* only ſay, that all men have it, and may exert it, or rather permit it to exert itſelf if they pleaſe.

It is ſuppoſed that the power ſo claimed is Jeſus Chriſt operating within us; and as it is allowed by all that the leaſt drop of his natural blood was enough to atone for the ſins of the whole world; ſo one might imagine that the leaſt portion of his godhead, working within us, might be too hard for and overcome the depravity tranſmitted to us by our firſt parents, or at leaſt be able to engage our attention or acquieſcence, which is all that is ſuppoſed requiſite to the farther progreſs and effuſion of his deity. It is very hard to conceive, that we can ſerve God by ſequeſtering for a time all the faculties which he has given us; by ſending our wits out of doors, to make room for grace, and by believing that the ſpirit of God will never exert it ſelf but in an empty head; and therefore I ſhall preſume to believe, till I am better informed, that as

the Almighty ſhews and exhibits to us the viſible world by the medium of the outward ſenſes, which he had before given us, ſo he diſpenſes all that we do know or can know of the inviſible one, through the vehicles of our reaſoning faculties.

We have not yet been able thoroughly to diſcover any vacuum in nature, but as ſoon as any body gets out of a place, another leaps in; if therefore a man can once drive his wits out of houſe and home, ſome other being of a different kind will certainly get into their room, and wind is always at hand crowding for preferment; which, in various ſhapes, has a great ſhare in human tranſactions, and always has contributed much to the great revolutions in empire and ſuperſtition, ſuch as have often overturned the world. But to return to my dream.

A clock, or other machine, made by a ſkilful artiſt, will have certain and regular motions, whilſt it continues in that ſtate; but if it gather filth, meet with obſtructions, or its ſprings and wheels decay and wear out by time, or be hurt by accidents, it moves irregularly, or not at all. Experience proves the ſame in the mechaniſm of animals, who have infinitely finer contextures, as conſiſting of thouſands of tubes, veins, arteries, nerves, and muſcles, every one of which, in a certain degree, contributes to the operations of the living engine; and as all theſe are more tender and delicate, and conſequently more ſuſceptible of injuries, than the parts which conſtitute and give motion to other organized bodies, ſo they are much more eaſily put out of order: and we find in fact, that a cold which ſtops perſpiration, and hinders the evacuation of the ſuperabundant particles of matter, diſorders the whole fabric, clogs and interrupts its action; and that thoſe effluviums which cannot find their proper vent through the pores, over-ſhadow and oppreſs the brain, and render the mind unactive, and incapable to perform its functions, till they are let out

by larger paſſages, as by bleeding, or vomiting, or forced out by ſweating, or other violent action, or by faſting, and taking in no new ſupplies, there is time given to them leiſurely to expire; but if they require quicker vent than theſe conduits can give, then fevers, or other violent diſtempers enſue, when the brains of men are ſo oppreſſed, that they ſee viſions, appearances of angels, demons, and dead men, talk incoherently, and ſometimes ſurprizingly, and have obviouſly different ſenſations, affections, and reaſonings, from what they have at other times.

The ſame is true of madmen, who through wrong organizations at firſt, or through the indiſpoſition of the organs afterwards, perſwade themſelves that they are princes, prophets, or meſſengers from heaven; and certainly often utter flights, and ſallies of imagination, which are amazing, and that never fall from them in their lucid intervals, and which have often paſſed upon the whole world for inſpiration; inſomuch, that in ſeveral ages, and in ſeveral countries in our age, they have been and are thought to be divinely inſpired. Now madneſs ſhews itſelf in a thouſand ſhapes; and as has been ſaid in my former paper, there is ſcarce a man living but at times has more or leſs of it, though we denominate it from a train of irregular actions; and many kinds of it certainly do not fall within common obſervation, or ſcace within any obſervation.

When we ſee men in the main of their conduct ſeemingly act with prudence in ſuch things as we underſtand, we are apt to take their words in ſuch things as we do not underſtand; eſpecially if we ſee them do ſuch actions, ſhew ſuch emotions of ſpirit, and utter ſuch diſcourſes as we cannot otherwiſe account for, though we perceive the ſame done by men in known diſtempers, and in ſleep, and often feel it in ourſelves: for it is incredible to thoſe who have not ſeen or obſerved it, what energy and

ſtrength men ſhew in convulſive diſtempers, when too they often vent ſurpriſing diſcourſes, without knowing what they ſay; and there are few men who do not ſometimes ſtrike out ſudden and extemporary thoughts and expreſſions, without being able to obſerve by what traces they came into their minds; and fanciful and conceited men eaſily perſuade themſelves, or are perſwaded by others, to believe that at thoſe times they are inſpired from above.

But if we compare things which we do not know, with thoſe which we do, I think we may account for them both by the ſame principles in nature. Men, as has been ſaid, in ſleep ſee viſions, hold diſcourſes, and ſometimes very good ones, with phantoms of their own imaginations, and can walk about, climb over houſes and precipices, which no man who is awake durſt venture to do. Men in diſtempers ſee ſpirits, talk and reaſon with them, and often fancy themſelves to be what they are not. Melancholy men have believed that they were glaſs bottles, pitchers, bundles of hay, prophets, and ſometimes that they were dead; and yet, in all other actions of life, have behaved themſelves with diſcretion: and as theſe things have happened often, few or none are ſurpriſed at them, and therefore treat them only as ſubjects of jeſt or merriment; but if they had happened but once, or ſeldom, we ſhould either not have believed them, or have recurred to miracle and witchcraft for the ſolution. No man wonders at the ſun's riſing every day, and yet all are amazed and frightened by ſeeing a blazing ſtar once in their life-time, tho' that is certainly the leſs wonder of the two.

Now what ſtretch will it be upon our imagination, to believe that once in an age, or more, a catching diſtemper of the mind ſhould actuate a man or two, and communicate itſelf afterwards to others of the ſame complexion, of the ſame temperament of juices, and conſequently of the ſame diſpoſitions of mind;

all which certainly are as infectious as thoſe of the body, though not ſo obſervable? We aſſimulate to the paſſions, habits, and opinions of thoſe whom we converſe with; and their tempers are catching. This indeed is not true in all inſtances; neither does a plague infect every body, but only thoſe who have proper juices, and ſuitable diſpoſitions of body to receive it. We ſee often, that the yawning of one man, will make a whole company yawn; and that the ſight of men in convulſive diſtempers will throw others into the ſame; as many people were agitated with the ſame motions and ſpirit of pratting with the *French* prophets, though they went to ſee the prophets fall into their trances, with a deſign only to divert themſelves; which trances undoubtedly were an unuſual kind of epileptic fits, which often actuate the organs of ſpeech without the patient's knowing it, and have often been miſtaken for divine trances, and his incoherent rhapſodies been eſteemed revelations.

If we may believe Mr. *Barclay*, and Mr. *George Keith*, in his *Magic of Quakeriſm*, (who was once of that ſect, and afterwards took orders in the church of *England*,) the ſame thing has happened to many others who went to inſult the *Quakers* and were caught by their ſhakings, groanings, and the ſolemnity of their ſilent meetings, and became afterwards ſteady converts. I think it is *Thucydides*, who tells us, That at *Abdera*, a city in *Greece*, upon a hot day, all the ſpectators who were preſent in the theatre to ſee *Andromache* acted, were ſuddenly ſeized with a madneſs, which made them pronounce Iambics; and the whole town was infected with the diſtemper, which laſted as long as that weather continued. And he tells us too of another ſort of madneſs, which ſeized the young women of *Athens*, many of whom killed themſelves; and the magiſtrates could not ſtop the contagion, till they made a decree, that thoſe who did ſo ſhould be expoſed, and hung up naked. There ſeems to be no

difficulty, in conceiving that the effluviums, which ſteam from the body of an enthuſiaſt, ſhould infect others ſuitably qualified, with the ſame diſtemper; as experience ſhews us, that the minute particles, which are conveyed by the bite of a mad dog, cauſe madneſs, and will make the perſon infected bark like the dog who bit him. And ſuch particles in other inſtances may be conveyed through the pores, and in a common inſtance undoubtedly are ſo; for many people will ſwoon if a cat be in the room, though they do not ſee her. And all infectious diſtempers muſt be communicated by thoſe paſſages.

Some diſtempers, or diſpoſitions of body, make men rave; others make them melancholy: ſome give them courage, impetuoſity, prodigious energy of mind, and rapturous thoughts and expreſſion; others ſink and depreſs their ſpirits, give them panic fears, diſmal apprehenſions, melancholy images, and ſecret frights; and they will all account for ſuch ſenſations from their former imbibed prejudices by early education, and by long uſe become familiar to them. One of theſe diſtempers will make a flaming falſe prophet, and the other a deſpairing penitent, in ſpite of the mercies of God; and afterwards phyſic or abſtinence ſhall cure the firſt, and a bottle of wine, now and then moderately and chearfully taken, in agreeable company, ſhall make the other a man of this world again.

Opium in different conſtitutions will work both theſe extremes, and other drugs will give temporary madneſs. The oracular prieſts of old well underſtood this ſecret of nature. The high prieſteſs of *Delphos* ſucked inſpiration from the fumes of an intoxicating well, which diſordered her brain, made her rave and utter incoherent ſpeeches, out of which ſomething was found to anſwer the devout queriſt, and tell the meaning of the god: and in the temple, as I remember, of *Amphiaraus*, where oracles were conveyed in dreams, the

humble and ſubmiſſive votary was let down into a deep hole, that had ſeveral fantaſtical appartments, where he ſaw ſights and apparitions, which his mind was prepared to receive before by phyſic, ſuitable diet, and ſometimes by faſting; and then he was wrapped up in the ſkins of victims, rubbed and impregnated with intoxicating drugs, which made him dream moſt reverendly; and when he related his viſions, it was very hard luck if the prieſts could find nothing in them for their purpoſe: but if that happened to be the caſe, the ſame operation was tried over again; and if they had no better fortune then, the god was angry with the impious ſeeker for his ſins, and ſo was become ſullen, and the poor miſcreant was ſent away as an excommunicated perſon, (if he had the good luck to eſcape ſo) and perhaps hanged himſelf in his way home.

We ſee and feel, by conſtant experience, that our thoughts in dreams are laſcivious, frightful or pleaſing, according to the temperament of our bodies, the food which we eat, or as our ſpirits are oppreſſed or cheriſhed by it. We ſee too that drunken or diſtempered men are overcome by liquor or diſeaſes, and made to talk, reaſon, and act differently from what they do in ſobriety and in health; and we all confeſs ſuch diſcourſes and actions to be the indiſpoſitions of their organs, and the operations of external or internal material cauſes, and will yet not account for other ſenſations equally extravagant from like mediums, though we cannot ſhew any difference between them: however, as it is not to be denied but almighty God has ſometimes communicated himſelf to particular perſons by ſecret impreſſions upon their ſenſes and underſtandings, ſo I dare not affirm, that he may not, and does not do ſo ſtill; nor will I dogmatically aſſert, that any one who pretends to feel his divine ſpirit, is a lyar or enthuſiaſt; but I think I may ſafely affirm, that no one is concerned in his viſions

or revelations: but himſelf, unleſs the other feels them too, or he can prove the truth of them by miracles.

Almighty God, as has been ſaid, has given us reaſon to diſtingiſh truth from falſhood, impoſture from revelation, deluſion from inſpiration; and when we quit that light, we muſt wander through endleſs mazes and dark labyrinths, and ramble where-ever fancy, imagination or fraud leads us. If Mr. *Barclay* had meant only, by the teſtimony of the ſpirit, that natural faculty, or principle which the Deity has inſpired into all men to regulate their actions and to acknowledge his divine bounty, (which principle I call reaſon) and could have reconciled the workings of his light to the only one which I can find in myſelf, I could readily have ſubſcribed to a very great part of his ſyſtem; for I muſt confeſs that it is moſt beneficent to the world, in my opinion, moſt agreeable to the ſcriptures, and makes them, or rather ſhews them to be moſt conſiſtent with themſelves, and comprehends every thing which has been ſince ſaid by the beſt of writers for liberty of conſcience, and againſt all ſorts of religious impoſitions. And this he has done with as much wit, happy turn, and maſtery of expreſſion, as is conſiſtent with the plainneſs and ſimplicity affected by thoſe of his ſect, and for the moſt part uſed in the holy writings.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, April 20. 1723. N°. 125.

The ſpirit of the conſpirators, accomplices with Dr. Atterbury *in* 1723, *conſidered and expoſed.*

SIR,

I Intend to conſider in this paper, the behaviour and ſpirit of the conſpirators; and to ſhew what enemies they are, even to ſuch as are favourable to them. But, before I proceed to enquire into the avowed cauſes of all this outragious diſaffection, I will freely own, that many things have been done which cannot be juſtified; ſome, perhaps, ignorantly, many ambitiouſly, and others, it is to be feared, traiterouſly, to help the conſpirators, by provoking the people, and by rendering the adminiſtration odious. Sure I am, that there are many pregnant appearances that look ſadly this way; and can be conſtrued no other way; and that theſe meaſures gave much ſorrow and indignation to the beſt friends of the government, as I doubt not but they did pleaſure and hopes to the diſaffected, who ſaw how faſt by ſuch ſteps their views were advanced. Treaſon is moſt ſucceſsfully carried on by unſuſpected traytors, as friends as eaſieſt betrayed and undone by friends. The cry therefore of the conſpirators againſt unpopular proceedings, was all hypocriſy, and falſe fire: they ſaw their miſchievous influence, and rejoyced in it: they thought that they were ſaved the danger and trouble of plotting; and that all that they had to do, was to hold the match ready, while other people were laying the train; and to put their ſickle into a har-

veſt not of their own ſowing. How near they were to reaping this harveſt, is now apparent.

Every good man will condemn unjuſt meaſures, let them come from what quarter they will: but the conſpirators could not with a good grace condemn the worſt, even ſuppoſing the reſentment ſincere. The wildeſt and wickedeſt things done by their own party, have been conſtantly and zealouſly defended and promoted by them: and they have ſteadily acted for or againſt a party, from paſſion or faction: nor has the love of their country, and the good of the whole, ſeparated from party, ever ſwayed them in one public action, that I remember. Neither is it any defence of them, that others, who profeſſed larger, and more humane and public principles, have fallen too often into the ſame partiality, and been too often governed by the ſame narrow, ſelfiſh and paſſionate ſpirit. Who have ever ſworn more bloody to a ſteady faith in their demagogues, than the conſpirators? Who have ever more notoriouſly ſhewn, that they knew no other meaſures of right and wrong, of religion and impiety, than the meaſures eſpouſed or oppoſed by their own leaders! What jobb has been ſo vile, that they have not blindly approved? Or what ſcheme ſo juſt, that they have not fiercely condemned? Juſt as this ſcheme, or that jobb has taken its riſe from this or that quarter.

Nor was the ſpirit of faction ever more manifeſt than in the preſent conſpiracy: what did the conſpirators want but plunder and places? But what advantages was their country to reap from the violent change, which they were bringing upon it? Before they could have accompliſhed it, the nation and every thing in it muſt have been thrown into convulſions, and a chaos. What order could they bring out of this confuſion? What amends could they make for unſettled or plundered property, a trade ſtagnated or loſt, harveſts deſtroyed, contending ar-

mies, bloodſhed, ſlaughter and battles, general deſolation, univerſal terror every man's ſword againſt his neighbour, the foreign ſword againſt all, and dyed with the blood of *Britons*, his majeſty depoſed, and perhaps butchered? For it could not be poſſible, even for them to ſuppoſe, that his majeſty and his family, poſſeſſed of ſo much power in his native dominions, ſupported by ſuch numbers, ſuch wealth and dependences in *Great Britain*, and by ſo many powerful allies abroad, could be effectually expelled by their bigotted idol, and his champions, but after a long and fatal civil war, fought within our bowels: a war in which moſt of the contending powers of *Europe* would have been parties, and which muſt have ended in the utter loſs of our liberties, which ever ſide had prevailed.

In anſwer to this black catalogue of woes, will they urge that *England* and *Engliſh* liberty, and the proteſtant religion, would have been indeed deſtroyed; but that they the conſpirators, would have had places? And yet what elſe can they urge? For this is the ſum of their reaſoning, whatever diſguiſes they would put upon it. Such was their ſpirit; and I wiſh it were as new as it is ſhocking and horrible. But alas! it is as old as men: and every country upon earth, that has been undone, has been undone to ſatiate the ambition of one, or a few, who aimed at ſeizing or extending power.

The complaints of miſcarriages, of wrong ſteps, and abuſe of power, came aukwardly and abſurdly from their mouths, whatever grounds there may have been for ſuch complaints. What ſecurity could the conſpirators give us, that, contrary to the nature of man, and of power, and to their own nature and conduct, they themſelves would be humble in grandeur, and modeſt in exaltation, and occupy power with moderation, ſelf-denial, and clean hands? They who would overturn the conſtitution, and the foundation of the

earth, and fill the land with violence, war, and blood, to come at that power! Can we conceive it poſſible that any regard to the public good, and to public property, would have the leaſt influence over thoſe men, who would ſacrifice the public, and annihilate all property, for the gratification of perſonal ambition and rage? Or how ſhould the love of liberty and peace bind theſe men, whom neither the laws of humanity, and of their country, nor the religion of an oath, nor the awful goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, can in the leaſt bind?

They exclaim againſt armies and taxes, and are the cauſe of both, and rail at grievances of their own creating. Who make armies neceſſary, but they, who would invade, and enſlave, or deſtroy us by armies, foreign popiſh armies? Who make taxes neceſſary, but they, who by daily conſpiring againſt our peace and our property, and againſt that eſtabliſhment which ſecures both, force us to give part to ſave all? And who, but they, can give a handle and pretence to ſuch as delight in taxes and armies, and proſper by them, to continue and increaſe them? They are not only the authors of thoſe great grievances, but of all the evils and ſubſequent grievances which proceed from them. Had the conſpirators ſucceeded, can we think, or will they have the face to ſay, that they would have ruled without armies? The yoke of uſurpation and ſervitude is never to be kept on without the ſword. They who make armies neceſſary now, would have found them neceſſary then: nor would they have ridiculouſly and madly truſted to their merit and popular conduct, when in this very inſtance they ſhew that no means were too black, no pitch of iniquity and cruelty too horrid, for the accompliſhment of their treaſon; and general plunder and devaſtation, conflagrations and murder, were the concerted ſpecimens of their ſpirit, and to be the hopeful beginnings of their reign. Did king *James*, whoſe misfortune they

cauſed and lament, did he, or could he, pretend to ſupport his religion, and his arbitrary adminiſtration, without the violence of the ſword, without a great and a popiſh army? Is the pretender of a different religion, or more moderate in the ſame religion? Or does he diſavow his father's government, and propoſe a better and a milder of his own? Does he pretend to come, or to ſtay here without armies? And are not governments continued, and muſt be by the ſame means by which they were founded? A government begun by armies, and the violation of property muſt be continued by armies, oppreſſion and violence.

What is here ſaid of taxes and armies, may be ſaid of the ſuſpenſion of the *habeas corpus* act. They complain of the ſuſpenſion as a heavy evil; and by their inceſſant plots and rebellions, make long and frequent ſuſpenſions inevitable. By their eternal deſigns and attacks upon us, they force us upon the next means of ſelf-preſervation; and then complain of oppreſſion, becauſe we will not ſuffer them to oppreſs and deſtroy us. It is therefore owing to them, that the ſubject is taken from under the protection of the common law, and left to the diſcretion of the court. Who ſays that this is deſirable? But who makes it neceſſary, or gives a pretence for it?

We were all juſtly filled with the apprehenſion of loſing *Gibraltar*, and thought that no doom was too bad for the traytor that had agreed to give it up, (if there ever were ſuch a traytor in his majeſty's ſervice;) and the conſpirators exclaimed as loudly as any. But behold their baſeneſs and inſincerity in this, as in other complaints, and their extenſive enmity to their country in every inſtance! By the conſpiracy it appears, that they laboured with foreign powers to have *Gibraltar* taken from *Great Britain*, on purpoſe to engage the nation to part with their government and their religion, in reſentment for the loſs of that ſingle, though important fortreſs.

The late management of the *South ſea* was another topic of reſentment and complaint, and a juſt one, whatever unjuſt uſes the conſpirators made of it. It is reaſonable to believe, that in their hearts they rejoiced in it, ſince from the univerſal diſpleaſure, confuſion, and loſſes, occaſioned by it, and from the bitterneſs cauſed by theſe loſſes, they drew hopes and a good omen to their conſpiracy, which elſe muſt have been impotent and languiſhing. The tender and ſlow proſecution of the execrable managers, the gentle puniſhment inflicted upon them, and the obvious difficulties thrown in the way of any puniſhment at all, were freſh provocations to a plundered and abuſed nation, and freſh ſtimulations to the conſpirators. They ſaw, that great numbers, who had always hated them and their pretender, were now, under heavy misfortunes, and in the preſent agonies of their ſoul, brought to think not unkindly of him and his cauſe, or to be intirely indifferent about it. They ſaid they were undone, and could not be worſe undone; and that nothing in human ſhape, or in any ſhape, could uſe them ſo ill as the directors had; the execrable, rich, and unhanged directors!

But of all men it leaſt concerns the conſpirators to be noiſy about the helliſh management of the *South-ſea* ſcheme; ſince one of the firſt and moſt certain conſequences of the conſpiracy would have been the utter ruin of the whole *South-ſea* ſtock, and of all the many thouſands who have their property in it. The *bank*, and all other public funds, would have had the ſame fate; nay, one of the firſt ſteps would have been the plundering of the *bank*, and the ſeizure of all the books of the great companies.

This was ſo much the deſign of the conſpirators, that one reaſon given by themſelves for delaying the execution of the plot, was, That a principal conſpirator, who had a great deal of ſtock, might have time to ſell out. So that they who did ſo virtuouſly and

diſintereſtedly exclaim againſt the abuſe of public credit, would have ſunk and deſtroyed for ever not only the public funds, but the foundation of all public credit and public happineſs, public and private property.

The conſpirators likewiſe profeſs a loud zeal and concern for the church; and papiſts, nonjurers and perjured traytors, were to deliver a proteſtant church from a proteſtant government, which protected her, to be better protected by a popiſh bigot, and his popiſh monks, who all think her damned. A zeal therefore for the church was to juſtify the moſt hideous impieties, a general perjury, foreign invaſions, and the final overthrow of all liberty, virtue, and religion: the reformed church of *England* was, for a protecting father, to be ſurrendered to a nurſling of the pope's, who by his religion is, and muſt be, a determined enemy to the whole reformation in general, and to the church of *England* in particular; and is under the menaces and horrors of damnation, if he do not exert his whole policy and power to extirpate the proteſtant name, and introduce a religion which is worſe than none; as it profeſſedly tolerates no other, and and perſecutes conſcience, which is the ſource and ſeat of religion, the only ſource that any religion can have. While there are men, and ſocieties of men, there will be religion; and where dread and tyranny are taken away, different religions: and yet no religion is preferable to a cruel religion; a religion that curſes and oppreſſes toleration, which is a principle inſeparable from Chriſtianity; a religion which buries the bible, or burns it, and all that read it, and damns all meekneſs and mercy; a religion that deraces the creation, cheats, impoveriſhes, oppreſſes, and exhauſts human race, and arms its apoſtles with jails, tortures, gibbets, impoſtures, and a bloody knife.

Every other complaint of the conſpirators might with the ſame facility and truth be turned upon them. But this paper is already too long. I will therefore

conclude with obſerving, that the conſpirators have, by the aſſiſtance of malicious calumnies, blind prejudices, groſs ignorance, and conſtant miſrepreſentations, miſled and abuſed their party, and governed them by abuſing them: that they have wickedly taught them to hate a government, which, with all the faults, true or falſe, that their worſt malice can charge it with, does juſt as far excel that which they would introduce, as the bleſſings and beauties of liberty tranſcend the horrid deformities of ſlavery, and the implacable and deſtroying ſpirit of *popiſh* tyranny: that they have wickedly taught them to be weary of their preſent free condition; which, with all its diſadvantages, debts, and taxes, is eaſy and happy, greatly and conſpicuouſly happy, in compariſon of any condition of any people under any *popiſh* prince now upon earth: that they have, by perpetual deluſion and lies, worked them to a readineſs, nay, a paſſion, to venture and ſacrifice their whole property, rather than pay a part to ſecure the whole; and to wiſh for a revolution, a *popiſh* revolution, which will neither leave them their property, their conſcience, nor their bible!

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, April 27. 1723. N°. 126.

Addreſs to thoſe of the clergy who are fond of the pretender *and his cauſe.*

SIR,

I Have in my laſt conſidered the ſpirit of the conſpirators in general; I will in this addreſs myſelf to thoſe of the clergy, who have joined with them, or are well affected to them. That there are ſome ſuch no body doubts; and our enemies boaſt, I hope unjuſtly, of a great majority: but let them be many or few, none can be affected by what is hereafter ſaid, but thoſe to whom it is applicable.

I ſhall not here urge the ſacred ties which you are under; ties, ſufficient to bind any conſcience, which is not paſt all tenderneſs and ſenſe of feeling; ties, awful and ſolemn enough to reſtrain minds that any religion can reſtrain; and ties, from which no lawleſs breach of the coronation-oath, nor any act of tyranny, has diſengaged you; though, according to your own doctrines, your peculiar and favourite doctrine, ſo often thundered in the ears of *Engliſhmen*, *No act nor acts of tyranny can diſſolve the bonds of allegiance.* But I would reaſon with you upon the point of more weight and moment with you, your ſecular ſtate and intereſt.

Pray what violence has been offered to your dignities and immunities? What breach made upon your livings, and revenues? What good has been done to religion at your expence? What arbitrary indulgences have been granted to diſſenters, or legal ones beſides

that of worſhiping God? Is it a ſin againſt you, to ſuffer them to exerciſe religion in a way different from you; when every man who worſhips God, muſt worſhip him his own way, in the way which he thinks God will accept, elſe he cannot worſhip him at all? What other worſhip will God accept, but that which conſcience dictates? Every other worſhip is hypocriſy; which is worſe than a falſe religion proceeding from a good conſcience. He who complies with a religion which he condemns or deſpiſes, worſhips not God, but the pride of prieſts; and is therefore their friend and favourite: while the upright man, who adores his God in ſpite of them, and will not diſſemble in ſo nice and ſacred a point, is reckoned a capital foe. The religion of one's country, to any man who diſlikes it, is cant, and no more than the religion of *Lapland*. Beſides, would your own pride ſuffer any of you to comply with the religion of *Scotland*, or *Geneva*, if you were there? On the contrary, do you not conſtantly encourage there, what you conſtantly exclaim againſt as ſchiſm here, a ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed communion?

The ſtate which makes you what you are, and gives you what you have, may by the ſame right and power confer what favours, privileges, and bounties it pleaſes, upon any other different bodies of men; nor could you in modeſty, or common ſenſe, complain, that a legiſlature diſpoſed of its gifts and graces according to its own wiſdom and diſcretion; and yet you have not even had this no-provocation. What diſſenter, what preſbyterian, has been preferred to the preferments of the church, or any other, unleſs all who are faithful to the government and to their oaths, be diſſenters? And will you pay diſſenters this compliment? None but churchmen are preferred in the church, or in the ſtate. No preferments are continued vacant; the church revenues are not leſſened, nor impaired, but every day increaſed. All the uſual and

legal advantages of the church are ſecured to churchmen, and none but churchmen poſſeſs them. All their honours, all their emoluments, are in their hands, and they are protected in them; nor are any hardſhips done them, or ſuffered to be done them, but that of reſtraining them from putting hardſhips, diſtreſſes and ſhackles upon others; and that of confining a biſhop, and ſome of his lower brethren, for treaſon againſt their God and their oaths, their religion and their king. And the outrageous and brutal reſentments which they have ſhewn for this neceſſary, this legal proceeding, ſhew what friends you are to that eſtabliſhment, which maintains and ſupports you in ſuch eaſe, honours, and plenty; and which he, and ſuch as he would have deſtroyed: you indeed make it more and more manifeſt, that your greateſt quarrel to the government is, that it will not put ſwords into your hands to deſtroy it. Will you after this complain, that the government will not particularly diſtinguiſh you, you only, and your deluded party, with honour, truſt, and eſteem, for this your declared infidelity and enmity to the government?

But the convocation, you cry, does not ſit. This you think a crying evil: but before we agree with you in this thought, you ought to ſhew us what good their preſent ſitting would do. And if you would ſhew too what good their ſittings ever did, or ever can do, you would inform many who are in utter ignorance as to this great affair. Do convocations always, or at any time, promote peace and indulgence, and the tender charity of chriſtianity? Have their furious contentions for eccleſiaſtical union ever increaſed Chriſtian union? Has their fierceneſs for garments and ſounds, and the religion of the body and the breath, had any good effect upon humanity, ſincerity, conſcience, and the religion of the ſoul? Have not ſome of them, and ſome not very late ones, gone to open war with

moderation and common ſenſe; and with ſuch as only offended by reconciling religion with moderation and common ſenſe, and by proving that our Saviour lyed not when he declared that *his kingdom was not of this world?* How did the late convocation particularly, and their champions, agree with their head and Saviour, the great biſhop of ſouls, upon this article? Will ſuch as you ſay, That for the intereſt of this government the convocation ought to ſit? And ought it to ſit for any other intereſt? Be ſo good to lay before us the ſervices done, and the inſtances of zeal ſhewn, by the late convocations, to this Proteſtant eſtabliſhment.

Another of your common-place cries is, That the clergy are contemned. What clergy, gentlemen? Are any contemned but the prophane, the forſworn, the rebellious, the lewd, the turbulent, the inſatiable, the proud, and the perſecuting; ſuch as will be unavoidably contemned, and ought to be contemned, by all who have conſcience, virtue, loyalty, and common honeſty? And will you ſay that the clergy, or the body of the clergy, feel, or ought to feel, this contempt? Why ſhould the juſt doom of the traytors to their order affect the credit of the clergy, or fill with apprehenſions ſuch as are not traytors? If they have their crimes, what credit or reſpect is due to the criminal? And if any of them reſpect the crime, what reſpect is due to them from thoſe who abhor traytors and treaſon; which all good men abhor?

Your little regard to conſcience, and your wanton contempt of oaths, are ſad proofs how ſmall power the Chriſtian religion, or any religion, has over you. What can bind the man whom oaths cannot bind? Can ſociety have any ſtronger hold of him? And are not they enemies to ſociety and to mankind; they who violate all the bonds by which ſocieties ſubſiſt and by which mankind are diſtinguiſhed from wild

beasts? You boast of your succession from the apostles: do you do as the apostles did? Or would they have deserved that venerable name, or found credit amongst men, or made one convert from heathenism, if they had been the ambitious disturbers of government; and, by profanely trampling upon oaths, have published to the world, by their practice, an atheistical contempt of all conscience and religious restraints? The apostles, rather than disown their faith and opinion, and dissemble a lying regard for the gentile deities, for a moment, were miserable in their lives, and martyrs in their death; nor could racks, wheels, fire, and all the engines of torture and cruelty, extort from them one hypocritical declaration, one profession that their souls contradicted. Neither they, nor their pious followers, needed to have been martyrs, had they been guided by a spirit that taught religion and conscience to stoop to worldly interest and luxury.

You say, I have heard some of you say, That you are forced to swear. How were you forced? Can conscience be forced? You may as well say, That men may be forced to like a religion which they hate. Can any excuse be an excuse for perjury? Were *Shadrach*, *Meshach* and *Abednego* forced to worship *Nebuchadnezzar*'s golden image? Were the first reformers forced to adore a wafer for a God? Was St. *Paul* to be forced to offer incense, and worship idols? Or, if he had, would his preaching have been of any effect, or ought to have been? Either the gospel condemns the prostitution of conscience and religion to ease and interest; or such prostitution, if the gospel allowed it, would condemn the gospel. You must therefore either renounce the gospel, which in practice you do; or condemn yourselves, which I do not hear you do: and in honour to the Christian religion, the peaceable, the sincere, the conscientious and disinterested Christian religion, all men who are sin-

cere Chriſtians, or only honeſt moraliſts, muſt condemn you, and abhor your practices.

But how were you forced? Either you muſt ſwear fidelity to a government which protects you, and takes nothing from you; or you muſt quit the advantages, and not eat the bread of the government: (for, that the government gives you all that you have, I am ready to prove whenever you pleaſe.) Now if you have really tender conſciences, you would not ſwear: but if your tythes and rents be dearer to you than your conſciences, then it is plain that your conſciences are not tender. It is a very hardened conſcience that is not dearer to a man than his belly. Your perjury therefore is pure wantonneſs, and an utter abſence of all honeſty, conſcience, and ſhame. Are theſe qualifications proper to direct the lives and conſciences of others; and to promote in the minds and practices of others the ſcrupulous and upright religion of our bleſſed Saviour.

Ceaſe, for God's ſake, to uſe that holy name, or uſe it better. Can you bring people to him, by ſhewing yourſelves daily apoſtates from him? Ceaſe mentioning the holy martyrs, you who are a diſgrace to martyrdom, and act directly contrary to the ſpirit of the martyrs; nay would make a martyr of that religion for which they died. For ſhame rail not at atheiſm, ſpeak not of atheiſts, you who give eſſential proofs of the blackeſt atheiſm. What is atheiſm, but an utter diſbelief, or, which is really worſe, an utter contempt of the deity? And what is a ſtronger demonſtration of that contempt, than a daring, a practical contempt of conſcience, his deputy within us, and a wanton and ſolemn invocation of his awful name to hypocriſy, deceit, and determined falſhood? This is making the Godhead a party to infidelity, and to treaſon againſt himſelf: it is mocking God, and abuſing men, and making religion the means of damnation. What can equal this horrible crime, the root and

womb of all crimes? Or what words can deſcribe it? This, gentlemen, is your advantage: no language ſuffices to paint out your wickedneſs: you are ſecure that your picture can never be fully drawn, or the world ſee it in half its blackneſs and deformity.

Will you after this ſcold at the morals and impiety of the age? You, who lay the broadeſt foundation for all immorality and wickedneſs, by letting looſe the minds of men from all the ſtrongeſt bonds of virtue and of human ſociety, the inviolable engagements of conſcience, and the awe of the ſupreme being! After you have thus proclaimed, in the moſt effectual manner, that you have no religion, or that religion has no power over you, will you continue to fill the world and weak heads with canting conjectures and barren ſpeculations, as if religion conſiſted in whims, dreams, and non-entities? And when you have, as far as your authority and example go, deprived almighty God of the eſſential worſhip ariſing from ſocial virtue, peace, charity, and good conſcience towards God and man, will you be ſtill adding further indignities to the deity, be repreſenting him chiefly pleaſed with unmanly grimaces, words without meaning, the nonſenſe of metaphyſics, the jargon of logic, and the cant of myſtery?

But this ſubject is too long for one paper: I ſhall therefore continue it in my next. In ſome following letters I ſhall ſhew my poor deluded countrymen, by what wretched guides in church and ſtate they are conducted, and whoſe jobs they are doing, to their own undoing.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, May 4. 1723. N°. 127.

The ſame addreſs continued.

SIR,

I Proceed in my addreſs to the diſaffected part of the clergy.

Are not you the men who profeſſed ſuch blind, ſuch unconditional ſubmiſſion to princes, the moſt oppreſſive and tyrannical princes; and damned all who would not go your mad, your impious, and your impracticable lengths? And are not you the firſt to bring home your own damnation to your own doors, by ſhewing that no obligation, human or divine, can withold you from rebelling againſt the moſt legal government, and mildeſt prince? To aſſert that the government is not a lawful government, is to aſſert your own perjury; and by diſowning the government, you diſown all honeſty and conſcience. The government is founded upon reaſon, upon laws, and conſent, the only foundation of any government; and it is adminiſtered with equity, and without the blemiſh of violence, or of diſpenſing arbitrarily with laws: and yet this government is to be reſiſted, betrayed, and overturned; while a government founded upon the chance of blood, upon the hereditary ſufficiency of men, and ſucceſſive chaſtity of women, and which acts by diſcretion, cruelty, or folly, is of divine appointment, and irreſiſtible. What can be more monſtrous! And what capricious and hard-hearted folly you would fix upon the good and all-wiſe God!

By which you only ſhew, that your hallowed nonſenſe, if you be in earneſt, is as ſignal as your wickedneſs.

As to the pretender's right, I know not what it is; unleſs it be, that becauſe his ſuppoſed father violated his coronation oath and the laws, uſurped a tyrannical power, and oppreſſed and enſlaved theſe nations five and thirty years ago, therefore his ſuppoſed ſon has a lawful right to enſlave them now. And I defy you, with all your diſtinctions, and men of diſtinctions, to produce a better argument upon this head of right. Beſides, how can the pretender think that you have any the leaſt regard to his right, when you have ſo often and ſo ſolemnly ſworn that he had none? Diſpoſſeſs yourſelves, if you can, of the ſpirit of faction, and of groundleſs diſpleaſure and revenge; and then try if you can find any divine, any unalterable right in the pretender. He has in truth no right, but what your own unruly and reſtleſs paſſions give him. We all know what would cure you of your opinion of his title, of your fondneſs for his perſon. The conſtitution will not ſtoop to you; the government will not be governed by you; you have not the power; you have not the revenues of the ancient eccleſiaſtics before *Henry* VIII.'s days; nor would you, if the pretender were here: and if you had not, in three months you would be fierce for ſending him abroad again, as you did his ſuppoſed father; or uſing him worſe. Of this I am certain, that if he ruled as his preſent majeſty does, you would treat him, and obey him, and honour him, juſt as you do his preſent majeſty. Plead no longer your conſciences, which you have ſo long, and ſo often, and ſo vilely proſtituted, and ſtill proſtitute! No body will receive the plea.

Before you can pretend to make your notions and authority paſs with others, you muſt ſhew that you yourſelves are guided by any notions of right or wrong. If you would clear yourſelves from the

guilt, the horrid guilt of conſtant and repeated perjury; ſhew how faithfully, how religiouſly, you have kept your oaths. If you would not be thought diſaffected, ſhew by ſome particular inſtances your faith and attachment to the government, from the revolution to this day. What have you done to prevent or repreſs plots, aſſaſſinations, and rebellions; to render them odious in the hearts of your people, or to ſatisfy the world that they were odious in your own? And is not this the duty of Chriſtians and preachers, and your ſworn duty? In a ſtupid diſpute about grimace and forms, or about paultry diſtinctions and empty words, you are all in flame and uproar, and fill your pulpits, and your people, and the nation, with your important nonſenſe, and the danger of ſenſe: but when church and ſtate were juſt going to be ſwallowed up by Popery and tyranny, what alarms have you rung? What reſentment, what attachment to the eſtabliſhment and your oaths, have you ſhewn? What honeſt teſtimony have you born?

And what have you done, gentlemen, ſince the diſcovery of this horrid conſpiracy? you that from your lofty *roſtrums* have ſcattered poiſon and epidemical diſtempers over the land, as if out of *Pandora*'s box; what antidotes have you applied to the venom which you have diſperſed? What ſatisfaction have you made for all the miſchiefs which you have done, and which ſtare you in the face? What ſermons have you preached? What diſcourſes have you printed? What deteſtation have you ſhewn againſt this monſtrous deſign; levelled at the life of the prince who protects you; againſt the religion which you ought to ſupport, and which ſupports you; and againſt the liberties and eſtates of your countrymen, from whoſe miſtaken confidence you derive all your power and wealth?

What has been done by the governors of the univerſities to promote loyalty either in tutors or pupils,

and to ſupport the principles upon which the *revolution* ſtands? What charges have been given by archdeacons (to ſay nothing of their betters) to enforce obedience to this government upon the foot of liberty? How many ſeditious prieſts have met with puniſhment or diſcountenance from their ſuperiors; though we all know what reſentment they would have found, if any one had dared to have opened his mouth againſt the power and pride of his order?

What care has been taken in the licenſing or approving of ſchool-maſters, who are almoſt all jacobites! What a bitter and diſaffected ſpirit is there in the charity-ſchools, and all ſchools! Is there a conteſt any where between two candidates, but the moſt diſaffected has the vote and intereſt of the country clergy? And is not the ſame partiality practiſed in moſt of the colleges of the univerſities?

Reconcile, if you can, your wild conduct to any ſemblance of religion, or of common ſenſe and common honeſty. If a Proteſtant diſſenter be to be let into a place by the good pleaſure and indulgence of the law; what books, ſcolding, and fury! But when the pretender and Popery are to be let into *England*, to the utter ſubverſion of religion and property, and againſt law and oaths; what reſignation! what ſilence! Though you are ſworn to oppoſe them, ſtrongly and ſolemnly ſworn, and have no provocation not to oppoſe them, but that the happineſs and eſtates of the laity, and the tenderneſs ſhewn to diſſenters (by which our people and our riches are encreaſed, and our Chriſtian ſpirit is ſhewn) diſturb the pride of the narrow perſecuting eccleſiaſtics, always inſatiable and diſcontented, always plotting and railing while the wealth and dominion of mankind are not entirely theirs.

It would be endleſs to enter into all the late and public inſtances of your perjury, your diſaffection, and furious ſpirit. I ſhall mention but one, but one

that is a diſgrace to our nation; an inſtance of a mean prieſt, deſtitute of name and parts, tried and condemned for ſedition, yet almoſt deified for his inſolence and crimes. Ignorant of the laws, and deſpiſing his own oaths, he publicly attacked the conſtitution, and libelled it. He aſſerted the irreſiſtibleneſs of all governments good or bad, though our own was founded upon reſiſtance. For this daring offence he was impeached and tried; tried by one part of the legiſlature before the other, and condemned by all three: ſo that the buſineſs of the nation, and of *Europe*, ſtood ſtill for many weeks, till this groveling offender had a hearing, and his ſentence; a ſentence, which would have come more properly for him from the chairman of a petty-ſeſſions, than from the mouth of a lord high chanchellor of *England!*

What reverence might not have been expected to ſuch a trial as this, what acquieſcence in the iſſue of it, eſpecially from thoſe who contended, daily and vehemently contended, from the pulpit and the preſs, for ſubmiſſion, unlimited ſubmiſſion, to governors, though tyrants and oppreſſors! But inſtead of this, as if they intended to publiſh to the world, that the meaneſt of the order, how vile and inſolent ſoever, is not to be touched for the moſt enormous crimes, even in the moſt legal, open, and honourable manner, even by the whole legiſlature, the moſt ſolemn and auguſt judicature upon earth; there was ſuch a hideous ſtir made; ſuch a horrible outcry and ſpirit were raiſed; ſuch inſolences, tumults and inſurrections enſued; ſuch contempt was ſhewn of power and magiſtracy; ſuch lyes and libels publiſhed againſt thoſe who poſſeſſed them; ſuch lying encomiums were beſtowed upon the ſentenced criminal; ſuch profane compliments were made him; ſuch profound and inſolent reſpect was paid him; as if there had been neither religion nor order in the land, but both had been baniſhed out of it by many of the avowed

and hired advocates for religion and order; who, all the while they were thus reviling and reſiſting authority, had ſtill the front to preſs and preach abſolute non-reſiſtance to authority, and to reward what they themſelves were doing with damnation: unleſs it were ſafe and laudable to reſiſt the moſt lawful power, but ſinful and damnable to reſiſt that which is lawleſs. For, after ſo many oaths to the government, and ſo many abjurations of the pretender, they durſt not ſay that the government was unlawful. But the rage and uproar which they were in, even before the ſentence, were as great as if the prieſthood itſelf, nay, all nature, was to have been overturned by the apprehended whipping of a profligate prieſt.

A ſufficient leſſon is this to all governments, how this ſort of men are to be truſted with power, who dare thus act in ſpite of all power! and a ſtrong proof to all men how little regard is due to the opinions and doctrines of theſe men, who do not regard their own doctrines! who teach what no man ought to practiſe, and themſelves will not! who are perpetually contradicting themſelves, and one another, and yet are never in the wrong! and who would not ſuffer the meaneſt, or worſt of their order, to be ſubject to the united and original power of one of the greateſt ſtates in the world!

Sure this cannot be forgot whilſt there is a king, or liberty, in *Iſrael!*

G.

I am, &c.

Saturday, May 11. 1723. N°. 128.

Addreſs to ſuch of the laity as are followers of the diſaffected clergy, and of their accomplices.

SIR,

I Have already addreſſed two of theſe letters to the the diſaffected clergy; and will in this apply myſelf to the diſaffected laity, their followers.

I cannot help ſaying, gentlemen, that it argues your great lowneſs of ſenſe, and depravity of manners, to be thus blindly inflamed by ſuch forſworn apoſtates, ſuch lying and diſaffected monks, men of ſuch vile morals: you ſee their unruly ſpirit, their unhallowed conduct, their daring and impious perjuries; and yet will you be led by them into wickedneſs as great, if poſſible as their own; the wickedneſs of unprovoked rebellion; of overthrowing a government, which, in ſpite of their malice and lyes, does really protect you in your religion and property; and of ſacrificing a proteſtant church, that you think yourſelves fond of, to a popiſh pretender, who is bound by his religion to deſtroy it?

And what is all this noiſe about? For whoſe ſakes, think you, gentlemen, that all this combuſtion is made? Do you believe that they are ſerving your intereſts, or their own? Have they in any inſtance, or any age, ſhewn any regard, any concern for your perſons, your religion, or your intereſts? If they pretend to have done ſo, they ſpeak as falſly as they ſwear. Remember all the reigns ſince queen *Eliſabeth*'s time to the *Revolution*; thoſe reigns that oppreſſed you, and that *Revolution* that ſaved you. Did they not make it the

whole buſineſs of their zeal, of their addreſſes and their preachments, to give up your perſons, your conſciences, and your fortunes, to the pleaſure and luſt of the prince; and damned you if you defended either? Did they not impiouſly make our Saviour the author of their inhuman nonſenſe, and Chriſtianity a warrant of indemnity for oppreſſing, robbing, chaining, and killing you? And did they not fill the kingdom with atheiſtical volumes of ſermons, books, and addreſſes, full of profane compliments and curſes upon this vile head? And have they ever ſince publicly and expreſsly renounced theſe deſtroying principles? When their own intereſt is concerned, no principles can bind them, as we all ſee and know; but as to the power of princes over laymen, over you, gentlemen, have they not always aſſerted it to be boundleſs and diſcretionary, and always left you at the mere mercy of royal luſt and madneſs? It is true, they will not now ſuffer you to bear a prince whom laws can bind; nor would they formerly ſuffer you to preſerve yourſelves from tyrants, which neither God, nor man, nor the good of mankind, could bind.

As ſoon as the great queen *Eliſabeth* was dead, who was reſolved to be truly what ſhe was called, head of the church; and in order to be ſo, kept her prieſts in a juſt and becoming ſubordination, and would not ſuffer them to meddle with or prate about her government; (for which to this day you have never heard them ſpare to her memory one good word;) and when a weak prince ſucceeded her, many of the leading clergy advanced all the vileſt tenets of popery: they declared, that the church of *Rome*, contrary to the expreſs words of the homilies, was a true church (which they might as juſtly have ſaid of the church of hell) at the ſame time that they denounced damnation againſt all foreign and domeſtic proteſtants for being no churches at all. So much did they prefer their own notional power of ordination before the

precepts of our Saviour, and the eſſentials of religion! They perſuaded the king to appoint three biſhops to re-ordain the *Scotch* preſbyters; which impoſition put that kingdom in a flame, as being in effect told, that they were in a ſtate of damnation before, and that their miniſters had no lawful call to ſerve God without epiſcopal dubbing. And thus he had like to have loſt one of his kingdoms, to gratify the pride of a few crack-brained eccleſiaſtics.

Then it was that profeſſed papiſts and popiſh principles grew in requeſt: liberty of conſcience was once given to them by proclamation, and always connived at and indulged; whilſt proteſtant diſſenters, and the beſt churchmen too, under the odious name of *puritans*, were every where reviled and perſecuted. Then it was that your parents firſt heard, in this proteſtant church, of the power of the keys, the indelible character, the uninterrupted ſucceſſion, the real preſence, the giving the holy Ghoſt, the divine right of kings and biſhops: all tending to aggrandize the clergy, and to enſlave the laity. Then was invented that nonſenſical apothegm, *No biſhop, no king*; which his majeſty echoing ſeveral times upon oath at the conference at *Hampton-court*, the archbiſhop declared, That doubtleſs his majeſty was inſpired, and ſpoke by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit. Then the biſhops thought it was their time, with the archbiſhop at their head, to preſent a memorial to the king, demanding an exemption of their courts from the civil juriſdiction; and the eccleſiaſtical power was every day ſwelling, nay carried to ſuch a pitch in the high-commiſſion court, as to draw the parliament upon them. And to induce his majeſty to ſupport them in their nonſenſe and roguery, they made him a preſent of all your perſons, lands, and liberties. It became the current doctrine amongſt the prerogative clergy, and books were publiſhed by ſome of them, approved and applauded by all, to maintain, That

the king was exempt from the reſtraint of laws; That he need not call parliaments, but might make laws without them; and, That it was a favour to admit the conſent of his people in giving ſubſidies.

This weak prince left one as weak behind him; one who having, as is ſaid, been once deſtined to the prieſthood, and being a bigot by nature as well as education, the eccleſiaſtics found in his reign a proper ſeaſon and a proper ſoil to ſow their tares in, with a fair proſpect of a plentiful harveſt. Popery came into the kindom like a torrent; arbitrary power appeared undiſguiſed, and in the moſt glaring colours. The king, by poſitive order to the chancellor, forbade the laws againſt papiſts to be put in execution; and, notwithſtanding the conſtant proteſtations of parliaments, protected *Romiſh* prieſts againſt legal proſecutions. Popiſh books were licenſed by *Laud*; and proteſtant ones, which defended the articles and the opinions of the eſtabliſhed church, were forbidden, ſuppreſſed, and puniſhed in the *ſtar-chamber*. *Montague*, who was impeached by parliament, for his attempts to introduce popery, was not only protected, but made biſhop of *Chicheſter*. *Laud* iſſued injunctions, by his own authority, for reforming the church, and bringing it nearer to popery: he had the ſaucineſs to declare publicly, *That he hoped to ſee the time when no Jack gentleman ſhould dare to keep on his hat before the meaneſt curate.* The biſhops diſclaimed all juriſdiction from the crown in *Baſtwick*'s trial; and the independence of the church upon the ſtate was openly aſſerted. Then came in the altar, and the unbloody ſacrifice upon it, with the antic and foppiſh conſecration of churches and church-yards, and many other monkiſh fooleries, to draw us to a near conformity with *Rome*.

And as prieſtcraft and tyranny are ever inſeparable, and go hand in-hand, infinite other oppreſſions were brought upon the poor people, and proved by the

prieſts to be *jure divino*; as, unlawful impriſonments, various monopolies, extorted loans, numerous taxes; all levied without authority of parliament. *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, two of *Laud*'s creatures, were ſet on to preach, That the king was not bound by the laws of the land; That the king's royal will, in impoſing loans and taxes, did oblige the ſubject's conſcience, on pain of damnation. His majeſty ſent a ſpecial mandat to archbiſhop *Abbot*, to licenſe thoſe ſermons; and his grace was ſuſpended for not doing it. It ſeems that it was lawful then to ſuſpend the greateſt clergyman, and firſt ſubject of *England*, for doing his duty, and preſerving the laws: and now it is a ſacrilegious uſurpation of the divine rights of the clergy, to deprive a biſhop for the moſt traiterous conſpiracy againſt his king, his country, and the religion which he himſelf profeſſes. To make good all theſe invaſions upon public liberty, a *German* army was contracted for; and ſome time after an *Iriſh* and *popiſh* one was actually raiſed by *Strafford* in *Ireland*.

During theſe reigns, all the high clergy were the profeſſed trumpets, the ſetting dogs, and ſpiritual Janizaries, of a government which uſed you like cattle, and ſtarved you, or ſlew you for profit and ſport. They made you conſpire againſt yourſelves, by alarming your conſciences, and filling them with blind and unnatural reſignation to all the exceſſes of cruelty, plunder, oppreſſion, killing, ſervitude, and every ſpecies of inhuman barbarity: but now that you are protected and ſecure in ſtanding laws, which the adminiſtration has never pretended to diſpenſe with; when you have the full enjoyment of your conſciences, which the government in no inſtance reſtrains; when you are ſecure in your eſtates and property, which the government does not touch, nor pretends any right to touch; when you have as much liberty as mankind can under any government poſſeſs, a liberty which goes to the very borders of licentiouſneſs: I ſay, under all theſe bleſſings, bleſſings

unknown almoſt to all men, but *Engliſhmen*; will theſe implacable and ſteady impoſtors let you alone? Are not their ſpiritual goads continually in your ſides, ſtimulating you to renounce your underſtanding, your freedom, your ſafety, your religion, your honeſty, your conſcience; and to deſtroy the ſource of all your own happineſs and enjoyments, religious and ſecular; to exchange a free government, and every thing that is valuable upon earth, for the cruelty, madneſs, chains, miſery, and deformity of popery and of popiſh tyranny?

Look back, gentlemen, once more, to later reigns: what teſtimony did they bear againſt the barefaced encouragement of popery, and the perſecution of proteſtants, in *Charles* II.'s reign? againſt his fatal treaties and leagues with *France*, his unjuſt wars with the united provinces, and his treacherous ſeizure of their *Smyrna* fleet, to deſtroy the only ſtate in the world that could be then called the bulwark of liberty and the proteſtant religion? What did they ſay againſt the terrible exceſſes, the arbitrary impriſonments, the legal murders, and violation of property, during his reign? Did they not encourage and ſanctify all the invaſions and encroachments of the court, and curſed all who oppoſed them, or complained of them? Can they have the forehead to complain of armies, of taxes, or any ſort of oppreſſion, (however juſt ſuch complaint may be in others) they who have never ſhewn themſelves for any government, but what ſubſiſted by armies and oppreſſion? They have been always mortal foes to popular liberty, which thwarts and fruſtrates all their aſpiring and inſatiable views, and in every favourite reign preached it as impiouſly down, as they preached up every growing and heavy oppreſſion.

Nor did they ever quarrel with king *James*, but conſecrated all his uſurpations, his armies, and diſpenſing power, till he gave liberty of conſcience to diſſenters, and till ſome of their own ill-contrived op-

preſſions were brought home to their own doors. They then curſed their king and helped to ſend him a-begging. They reſiſted him, and upon their principles were rebels to him, and animated others to be ſo; yet have been damning you and the nation for that reſiſtance ever ſince: which is a full confeſſion, that when a popiſh tyrant plunders and oppreſſes you, you neither can nor ought to have any remedy; but if he touch but a tythe-pig or ſurplice of theirs, their heel is ready to be lifted up againſt him, and their hands to throw the crown from his head, and to put it upon another, with freſh oaths of allegiance and obedience; and to pull it off again in ſpite of thoſe oaths, or without any forfeiture, or any juſt provocation. Is not this infamous conduct of theirs manifeſt to ſight? Does it not ſtare you and every *Briton* in the face? And yet will you be implicitly led by ſuch traytors to God, to truth, and to you?

How did they behave towards king *William*, whom they themſelves invited over? As ſoon as he give liberty of conſcience to proteſtant diſſenters; let them ſee that he would not be a blind tool to a prieſtly faction, but would equally protect all his ſubjects who were faithful to him; had ſet himſelf at the head of the proteſtant intereſt, and every year hazarded his perſon in dangerous battles and ſieges for the liberty of *England* and of *Europe*, againſt the moſt dreadful ſcourge and oppreſſor of mankind that ever plagued the earth; they were perpetually preaching and haranguing ſeditiouſly, always calumniating him, reviling him, diſtreſſing him, and plotting againſt him; always endeavouring to render all his meaſures, all his generous attempts for their own ſecurity, abortive and ineffectual. Nor did they uſe the late queen, their own favourite queen, or even thoſe of their own party who ſerved her faithfully, one jot better, till ſhe fell into the hands of a few deſperate traytors

to herſelf and them; who gave away all the advantages of a long, expenſive, and ſucceſsful war; put *France* into a condition again to enſlave *Europe*, and to place a popiſh traytor, an attained fugitive, upon the throne of theſe kingdoms; (which he had undoubtedly done, if unforeſeen accidents had not prevented it:) and then what encomiums, what panegyrics, what fulſome and blaſphemous flattery, did they beſtow upon her perſon and actions, and have beſtowed ever ſince?

Is not this, gentlemen, uſing you like ſlaves, and worſe than ſpaniels; making you the tame vaſſals of tyrants, and reſtleſs rebels to lawful governors? Is not this uſing you like inſenſible inſtruments, void of reaſon and of conſcience, of prudence, and of property? Is this teaching! This the price of their revenues and eaſe! This the function of miniſters! Or can human invention, animated and aided by human malice, draw the character of more unlimited, mercileſs, and outrageous enemies?

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, May 18. 1723. N°. 129.

The ſame addreſs continued.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are abuſed: you are blindly governed by certain chiefs, who can have no view but to diſpoſe of you; to make ſale of you for their own proper advantage. By prating pedants, and diſaffected monks, and by party cries, and party revelling, and hogſheads of *October*, you are brought to adore this duke, that lord, and the other knight or ſquire; and to think the public undone, unleſs it be under the ſole management of thoſe your idols, who would effectually undo it. They once had places: had you then more money, more trade, more land, and liberty, by any wiſe or virtuous conduct of theirs, than you have now? And did they not take that opportunity of your generous confidence in them, to betray you baſely to *France* and the pretender? And have they not ever ſince been labouring, by plots and rebellion, to accompliſh that which, from the ſhortneſs of their reign, and the ſudden change, they could not then accompliſh by power?

Power and places are ſtill their only aim: and to come at them, you ſee, they would make war upon heaven and earth, and involve you in blood and popery. But you cannot all have places, gentlemen: your only ambition ought to be the ſecurity of your property, and to live like freemen. And are you not free? Is not your property ſecure? or can theſe men accompliſh their deſigns and conſpiracies, but at

the expence of your eſtates and your freedom? They ſeek their own grandeur, and all their advantages from your ruin and ſervitude. You muſt pay the whole and long reckoning at laſt. You muſt fill the empty cofers of new ſhoals of *banditti*, who muſt be rewarded out of your pockets for their villainous merit, and pretended ſufferings. You will have a whole and black flight of harpies to glut, who with ravenous and unhallowed claws will devour your ſubſtance, and your childrens bread. All foreign debts, all the demands of *Spain* and *Rome*, will be brought upon you for payment; and all that you have will be too little to ſatiate needy traitors, whom you madly want to ſave your all; which is not touched, nor can be hurt, but by them, and is but too little to defend you from them.

Think you to be then without armies? No: inſtead of occaſional troops, which their wicked plots and devices, and your own diſaffection, have brought upon you, you will ſee your country and your houſes filled with popiſh armies, perhaps foreign popiſh armies. You will be told, that proteſtant and *Engliſh* ones, which already betrayed the father, will betray the ſon, and cannot be truſted: that your frequent rebellions render you unfit to be relied on; and that if you turned out a proteſtant prince, whom you yourſelves called in, you will be apt, upon the leaſt diſguſt or caprice, to turn out your hereditary king, as you did his father.

Think you that your preſent debts will be cancelled, and your taxes made eaſy? No; your taxes and your funds will be continued: but, inſtead of being applied, as they are, to pay off lawful debts contracted for your ſecurity, they will be ſeized by this new government, and called lawful prize. It will be ſaid, "That they were given to keep out your lawful king, "and ought to be made uſe of to keep him in: that "if you were ſo prodigal of your wealth for the

" ſupport of rebellion and faction, can you refuſe " theſe revenues which are now no longer your own, " but in poſſeſſion of the enemies of the eſtabliſh- " ment, who chiefly gained them at firſt by ſtock- " jobbing and extortion, and now keep them as the " prizes of diſloyalty and treaſon; can you refuſe " theſe revenues (ſo ill got, and as ill applied) to ſe- " cure your lineal government, founded upon a long " ſucceſſion of your natural princes?" Theſe revenues therefore, which are now your property, and the property of your neighbours and relations, will then be united to the crown, fix an abſolute power there, and entail laſting and irretrievable ſlavery upon yourſelves and your poſterity, and deſtroy at one blow the whole property and trade of three great kingdoms. At preſent, if prudent methods be taken (which ſurely neceſſity muſt at laſt make us take) theſe great debts may be paid honeſtly off, and we again ſee ourſelves a happy and diſengaged people. But upon ſuch a dreadful turn as the conſpirators intended, they will be thrown into a free gift, and your taxes will be made perpetual, to perpetuate your ſlavery.

Do you expect any redreſs of any kind from ſuch a parliament as can then be choſen, if any be choſen? No; hope it not. All that would ſerve you faithfully in it, will be called enemies and traitors to the new, and friends to the late rebellious eſtabliſhment. Such therefore will not dare to offer themſelves to your choice; and, if they did, would be mobbed, or impriſoned. You muſt chooſe only ſuch as are recommended to you, the ragged and famiſhed tribe that are brought over; men of deſperate fortunes, the beggarly plotters againſt your preſent happineſs, fiery and implacable bigots, half papiſts, engaged malecontents, or rapacious vultures; all gaping for prey, all determined to every meaſure of oppreſſion, and to ſacrifice you and your country to their ambition and want. You will then find time for re-

pentance, when it is too late, when all the grievances which you now ſo wantonly complain of will fall upon you in earneſt, and an hundred fold, without hope of remedy or end.

Nor can this bleſſed condition be brought upon you, but after the horrid prelude of a long and cruel civil war. You will firſt ſee your country in blood, your cities burnt, your houſes plundered, your cattle taken from you, your ſtocks conſumed by dragoons, and your ſons, your neighbours, and relations, murdered before your faces. Flatter not yourſelves, that his majeſty will eaſily quit the many thouſands of his ſubjects, who will certainly and reſolutely ſtand by him; or that he will want the aſſiſtance of all the foreign powers who are intereſted in his eſtabliſhment, or even in making this great kingdom wretched, impotent, and poor. No, gentlemen, you will have armies of *Germans* and of *Dutch* poured in upon you on one ſide, *Spaniards* and *Ruſſes* on the other, and perhaps *French* on both ſides. *Iriſh* papiſts will come over in ſhoals? Hoſts of *Highlanders* will fall like ſnow from the north; and all the neceſſitous, the debauched, the ambitious, the rapacious, the extravagant, and the revengeful, amongſt yourſelves, will think theſe your calamities their harveſt: they will banquet in your plunder; and for a ſhare of you, will greedily join to devour you. Is this a condition like that which you now enjoy?

How would you like to ſee your churches dreſſed up like toyſhops; to ſee vermin of various faſhions, ſhapes, and colours, crawling about in them, anticly dreſſed up in an hundred fantaſtical garments; to ſee the ſame vermin at other times, filling and polluting your ſtreets, haunting your houſes, debauching and corrupting your wives, perverting your children, devouring your ſubſtance, and lording it over you? You will hardly know, thus tranſmogrified, the old faces which you have been uſed to, the faces of thoſe impious

wretches, who would bring all theſe frightful miſchiefs upon you. That they are ready and prepared for this ungodly change, is evident from their maintaining and aſſerting all the vileſt and moſt formidable tenets of Popery; and by their uniting in all the traiterous intrigues, in all the baſeſt and bloodieſt councils of Papiſts. But that the Papiſts would protect or prefer them afterwards, is more than doubtful: it is not likely, that they will truſt thoſe whom by experience they know no truſt can bind. They know that thoſe who have betrayed you, and a king who has protected and preferred them, will betray alſo even Papiſts. They know, that neither religion, nor conſcience, nor honeſty, nor hardſhip, has any ſhare in their preſent diſaffection, which has its whole root in pride and avarice, and the luſt of rapine and power; and that they will in a moment turn upon them as ſoon as the firſt preferments go by them, or they cannot all catch the preferments and wealth which they ſo immoderately thirſt after.

Your preſent deceivers, therefore, will not then be truſted. All eccleſiaſtical prizes will be the prizes of foreign eccleſiaſtics, or of thoſe who have been ever ſtaunch catholics at home. The others will be left to certain contempt, beggary, and if poſſible to ſhame. It will not be forgot what ſervile adoration they paid, what hollow compliments they made, to the late king *James*; adoration that bordered upon blaſphemy! Compliments that interfered with the incommunicable attributes of God! And how faithleſly, how readily, afterwards they betrayed him, when all his favours did not fall in their lap, and as ſoon as they found that from them alone his tyranny was not exerted. It will be remembered how chearfully, or rather how revengefully, they ran into the *revolution;* and when they could not engroſs the whole advantages of it, and could not make king *William* their inſtrument and bully, how they were con-

tinually libelling king *William* and the *revolution*, continually prating, preaching, and plotting againſt both, notwithſtanding their conſtant oaths, their conſtant abjurations and imprecations.

For God's ſake, gentlemen, think what you are doing: your lives, your eſtates, your religion, your conſcience, your trade, your country, your honour, are all at ſtake, and you are wantonly throwing them all away; you are purſuing a falſe and miſerable ſhadow; and it would be happy for you, were it only a ſhadow: in reality, you are going to catch in your embraces, ſuperſtition, beggary, and ſervitude. I approve your love and purſuit of liberty, which ever was, and ever will be, a grateful and charming ſound in my ears; and I will be always ready to lead you, or to follow you, in that virtuous and noble purſuit. This is wiſdom! This is honour! But honour is to be acquired by honourable means, and not by rapine, perjury, and murder.

I thank God, we have yet the means left within our conſtitution to ſave ourſelves. We have, in ſpite of malice and contumelies, an excellent, meek, and benevolent prince, who has in no one inſtance of his reign attempted to ſtrain his prerogative above the laws; which we defy his bittereſt enemies to ſay of the beſt of their favourite kings, his predeceſſors. He has every diſpoſition to make a people great and happy, and will be always ready to gratify them in every thing that they can reaſonably aſk for their ſecurity. But if we would make ourſelves ſecure, we muſt make him ſecure. It cannot be denied, but there have been ſome exceſſes of power, and that we have ſuffered under many public calamities: none of them are, however, imputable to him; but to the corruption and intrigues of thoſe who betrayed him and us, and to the conſtant conſpiracies of traytors, which deterred honeſter men from a ſevere animadverſion upon their crimes, when they ſaw them purſued by thoſe

who rejoiced in thoſe crimes, with no deſign to rectify abuſes, but to enflame diſcontents.

To whom, gentlemen, do we owe all our preſent debts and misfortunes? Even to thoſe who oppoſed all the meaſures for raiſing effectual ſupplies in the firſt war, and ended the ſecond by a ſcandalous peace, which left us in inſecurity and danger, and made more taxes and more debts neceſſary to our ſecurity. To whom, as I have obſerved in a former paper, do we owe ſtanding armies, ſuch frequent ſuſpenſions of the *habeas corpus* bill, and ſo many conſuming penſions? Even to thoſe, who, by their conſtant plots, conſpiracies, and rebellions, have given occaſions, or pretences, for theſe great evils and exceſſes. And now that they have brought all theſe miſchiefs, and many more, upon us, and forced the government upon meaſures which perhaps would not have been thought of, certainly would not have been complied with, they would impudently throw upon his majeſty the burthens and imputations, which they alone ought to bear, and impiouſly dethrone him, and undo their country, for their own crimes.

You are born, gentlemen, to liberty; and from it you derive all the bleſſings which you poſſeſs. Pray, what affection have theſe your leaders ever ſhewn to the cauſe of liberty? It is plain that they have never taken the ſacred ſound into their mouths, but to profane it; nor pretended to cheriſh it, but in order to deſtroy it, and make it an unnatural ladder to tyranny. As often as dominion has been in their own hands, liberty became a crime, and a ſign of ſedition; as often as they wanted to deſtroy power, that is, as often as they were out of it, they proſtituted the ſpirit of liberty to the ſervice of treaſon. Hence their late cries for liberty, to animate you againſt a government that protected it; and under the pretence of affecting liberty, to introduce a tyranny that would deſtroy ſoul, body, and property. They could,

however, have made no dangerous progreſs in this miſchief and hypocriſy, if thoſe who have always profeſſed, and whoſe intereſt it would have been always to have ſupported and practiſed, free and beneficent principles, had not deſerted thoſe principles, and armed by that deſertion the enemies to all that is good and virtuous, with an opportunity of turning liberty upon herſelf. Let the real friends to the government ſupport the maxims upon which it ſtands, and upon which only it can ſtand, and they have nothing to fear from the well or ill-grounded popularity of its enemies.

Such, gentlemen, are your leaders, and ſuch are the grievances which they cauſe, and complain of: to cure them, they would introduce the completeſt and moſt comprehenſive of all, a total overthrow of church and ſtate. They have reduced us to unhappy circumſtances; but let us not make them infinitely worſe, and deſtroy ourſelves for relief; let us not, like ſilly and peeviſh children, throw away what we are in poſſeſſion of, to attain what is out of our power, and which attained, would undo us: let us put on reſolutions ſuitable to our preſent condition. Let all honeſt men join with the greateſt unanimity in all meaſures to preſerve his majeſty and our eſtabliſhment; and then we may reſt aſſured, that his majeſty will do every thing to preſerve us. We may then aſk with confidence, and he will give with pleaſure. When the kingdom is in this deſirable calm and ſecurity, we ſhall not need ſo many troops, nor will his majeſty deſire them. We may leſſen the public expences, pay off gradually the public debts, encreaſe the trade, wealth, and power of the nation, and be again a rich, eaſy, and flouriſhing people.

I cannot help perſuading myſelf, that the gentlemen at preſent in the adminiſtration, who have obſerved and condemned ſo juſtly the fatal and unſucceſsful

meaſures taken by ſome of their predeceſſors, the terrible conſequences that have flowed from them, and the dreadful advantages that they gave to the common enemies of his majeſty, of themſelves, and of us all, are already convinced, that there is no poſſibility of preſerving our happy eſtabliſhment long, but by gaining and careſſing the people, by making them eaſy and happy, by letting them find their account in his majeſty's reign; and by giving no handles for juſt reproach, or pretences for contumely, to thoſe who would make no other uſe of them but to deſtroy us all.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, May 25. 1723. N°. 130.

The ſame addreſs continued.

SIR,

I Have in my laſt and former papers given you ſome faint images of the hypocriſy, pride, tyranny, perjury, atheiſin, and reſtleſs ambition, of the jacobite and diſaffected clergy, who conſtantly miſlead you, and conſtantly abuſe you. I ſhall in this inform you what are their views, what the butt and mark to which they direct all their actions; what the idols to which they ſacrifice their honour, their conſcience, their religion, and their God. It is even to their ambition and pride. It is to get you into their power; to have the diſpoſal of your perſons, your opinions, and your eſtates; to make you ignorant, poor, miſerable, and ſlaviſh, whilſt they riot upon your fortunes, prey up-

on your induſtry. They look abroad with envious, with wiſhing eyes, at the revenues, grandeur, and power of the *Romiſh* clergy; they remember with regret, how they loſt all thoſe fine things at the *reformation*, and have never loſt ſight of them ſince; but been conſtantly involving you in factions, in miſery, often in blood, to recover them again.

Popery is the moſt dreadful machine, the utmoſt ſtretch of human politics, that ever was invented amongſt men, to aggrandize and enrich the clergy, to oppreſs and enſlave the laity. All its doctrines, all its views, all its artifices, are calculated for the ſole advantage of the prieſts, and the deſtruction of the people, at the expence of virtue, good government, common ſenſe, and the goſpel. Is it an open conſpiracy of the eccleſiaſtics againſt all the reſt of mankind, to rob them of their eſtates, of their conſciences, and their ſenſes; and to make them the dupes and tame vaſſals of ſawcy and ambitious pedants. Look into their doctrines and their practices, and ſee whether you can find the leaſt appearance of honour, morality, common honeſty, or religion in them; or any thing but pride, hypocriſy, fraud, tyranny, and domination. What do they mean by the power of the keys, of binding and looſing, of excommunication, of their being mediators and interceſſors between God and you; what do they mean by their pardoning ſins, and having the ſole power of giving the ſacraments, which they tell you are neceſſary to ſalvation; what, by their doctrines about purgatory; but to perſuade you, if you are fooliſh enough to believe them, that your future happineſs and miſery depend upon them? And then they well know that you will give the moſt that you have in this world, to be ſecure in the next.

What do they intend by telling yout that biſhops are of divine inſtitution; by the power of ordination; and that they can alone make one another? What,

by the indelible character; by uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the apoſtles; by their being able to give the Holy Ghoſt, and having it themſelves; but to create reverence to their perſons, ſubmiſſion to their authority, and to render themſelves independent on the civil government? And then they know that the civil government will be dependent on them. What purpoſes does it ſerve, to make you believe that tythes (which they hold by laws of your making) are of divine inſtitution; that it is ſacrilege to reſume lands or donations, once given to the clergy, and that they can never afterwards be alienated; but conſtantly to increaſe their riches, and conſequently their power and dependence, till by the natural courſe of things they come to be poſſeſſed of all? What do they mean by their holy water, their extreme unction, their exorciſms, their conſecration of churches and churchyards, and their abſurd notion of tranſubſtantiation, but to gain adoration to the prieſtly character, as if he was able by a few canting words to change the nature of things, bleſs dead earth and walls, and make a God out of a meal? Why ſo many monaſtries and nunneries, ſo many religious orders of men and women, ſo many fraternities, colleges, and ſocieties of different kinds, but to engage great numbers of young people and potent families in their intereſt? Why ſo many antic garbs, ſo many rich veſtments, ſo many gaudy ſhrines, ſo many decked images, uſed in their worſhip, and ſo much pompous devotion? Why organs and ſo much muſic, ſo many ſinging-men and ſinging-boys, but to attract the eyes and ears, and to amuſe the underſtandings of the gaping herd, to make them forget their ſenſes, and the plain natural religion of the goſpel, and to engage men and ladies of pleaſure in the intereſts of ſo agreeable a devotion?

How comes it to be a part of religion, not to confeſs our ſins to God, but to the prieſt? It lets him into all the ſecrets of families, the power of impoſing what

ſevere penances he pleaſes upon ſuperſtitious penitents, and of commuting for thoſe penances; acquaints him with all deſigns to the diſadvantage of his order; gives him opportunities of debauching women himſelf, and procuring them for others; and holds them devoted to his will, by the knowledge of their moſt important concerns. And laſtly, What do they mean by the terrible engine of the inquiſition, and by their helliſh doctrine of perſecution for opinions; but to keep all men in awe of them, and to terrify thoſe whom they cannot deceive? Theſe are the favourite doctrines of popery! Theſe the doctrines which they are concerned for! If you be rich or powerful, you may be as wicked as you pleaſe, and no body ſhall moleſt you; nay, the prieſts ſhall be ready to aſſiſt you, to pimp for you, and to pardon you. The ſame is true of the ſpeculative opinions held by that church, that do not affect their power and pride: they ſuffer their ſeveral orders to differ about them, and do not trouble themſelves what the people believe concerning them; nor are any of the people at all concerned in them. The abſurd notions and ridiculous worſhip of the Papiſts are only fooliſh things; but the power of Popery is a terrible thing. If a man adore rotten bones, and uſe antic geſtures towards them, he makes a fool of himſelf, but hurts not me; but if he would rob me, torture me, or burn me, for not playing the fool too, it is time to keep him at a diſtance, or to hold his hand. It is the power of Popery, the cruel, the inſatiable, the killing ſpirit of Popery, that is to be dreaded. This, gentlemen, is the power, this the terrible condition, that many of your Proteſtant inſtructors would bring you under, and which you are to guard againſt.

Theſe wicked doctrines, theſe abſurd opinions, were all aboliſhed, all renounced, by the firſt reformers, but kept alive by the corrupt part of the clergy, and have been growing upon you ever ſince: they have

been connived at by ſome, openly aſſerted by others, and I wiſh I could ſay, as openly diſcountenanced by the reſt. It would fill a volume, inſtead of a paper, to enumerate all the clergymen, in the higheſt repute amongſt their own order, who have abetted moſt, if not all of theſe monſtrous opinions; and I have heard as yet of none of them who have been cenſured by any public act of their body. I confeſs, that many of the corrupt amongſt them have renounced the pope's authority, as believing that they might find fairer quarter from a king whom they educated, and hoped to govern, than from a foreign prelate, and his needy prieſts, who would plunder them, oppreſs them, and give away their revenues to his creatures, and to lazy monks and friars. They hoped too, that ſome favourable opportunities might happen to get away the regale from the crown; and we never had a prince whom they could entirely govern, or who would not be governed at all by them, but they have laid claim to it, and attempted it. But what ſtood always in their way, and made all theſe deſigns impracticable, was the power of parliament, and the liberties of the people, who preſerved the prerogative of the crown to preſerve themſelves: they therefore levelled all their batteries againſt public liberty, and laboured to make the prince abſolute; as finding it much eaſier to flatter, miſlead, or bargain with one man (and often a weak one) than to deceive a whole people, and make them conſpire againſt themſelves: and if perſuaſion, bigotry, and fear, would not make him practicable to their deſigns, they knew that poiſon and the dagger were at hand.

But now two hundred years experience has convinced them, that the people will not ſuffer the crown to part with the regale, nor would they themſelves part with their liberty; and till they do ſo, there is no poſſibility of ſettling a pompous hierarchy, and gaining the domination which they aſpire to: they

therefore are reduced to accept barefaced Popery, and throw themſelves under the protection of the holy father: and that is the game which they are now playing. What elſe can they propoſe by a Popiſh revolution, but to ſhare in the power and tyranny that attend it? They have not ſufficient ſtipends for the daily miſchiefs which they do: they want greater revenues, and an eccleſiaſtical inquiſition. Now, at whoſe expence, think you, muſt this accumulation of wealth which they thirſt for be acquired? How muſt this *Babel* of authority which they pant after be raiſed? Not at the expence of the pretender, by whoſe aſſiſtance they muſt gain them: no, gentlemen; from your coffers theſe riches muſt be drained: over you this tyranny muſt be exerciſed: the utter extinction of your liberties muſt conſtitute their grandeur: the final ſeizure of your lands and properties muſt ſupport their domination: you muſt be the poor haraſſed ſlaves of a monſtrous two-headed tyranny; be conſtantly and inhumanly cruſhed between the upper and the nether milſtone of the regale and pontificate; and, in any diſpute betwixt them, be given to *Jatan* on one ſide, and to the executioner on both.

Many of you are in poſſeſſion of impropriations and of abbey-lands, and are protected by the conſtitution in thoſe poſſeſſions, which theſe reverend cheats would rob you of; and only want an arbitrary and a Popiſh government to enable them to commit that robbery, to ſtrip you to the ſkin, and to reduce the *Engliſh* laity to be once more humble cottagers and vaſſals to the monks, friars, and other eccleſiaſtical gluttons, to whom the whole riches of a great nation will be no more than ſufficient wages for cheating and oppreſſing it. I bring you, gentlemen, no falſe charge againſt the Jacobite clergy: do they not claim your eſtates publicly from the preſs and the pulpit; and from the pulpit and the preſs charge you with ſacrilege, and damn you for keeping them? Yes, gentle-

men, theſe reverend and ſelf-denying teachers damn you for keeping your own legal poſſeſſions, and for eating your own bread. Now I would leave you to reaſon upon this conduct of theirs, to conſider how nearly it affects you, whither it tends, and what ſort of proteſtants theſe doctors are. If the public take nothing from them which they occupied ſince the *reformation*, why ſhould they deſtroy the government, but in hopes of deſtroying the *reformation*, to get poſſeſſion of popiſh lands, and popiſh power; which, while the *reformation* and the government ſubſiſt, they can never poſſeſs?

That this, gentlemen, is what they aim at, it is impoſſible to doubt. *Leſly*, long their favourite and director, who knew their inclinations, knew their views, and the beſt way to apply to them and to gain them, in his letter to the clergy (as I think it was) which was to uſher in the rebellion at the beginning of his majeſty's reign, promiſes them an independence upon the crown, and that they ſhould chooſe their own biſhops. It is dominion, it is power, which they court; it is themſelves whom they adore: when have they ever conſidered you, or your intereſts, when they thought they could make a bargain for themſelves? When king *James* applied to the biſhops, upon his fear of an invaſion from your great deliverer, and deſired them to propoſe the nation's grievances, what grievances did they repreſent but their own trifling complaints? They ſaid nothing of ſtanding armies, how much ſoever they complain of them now. Who are their favourites? Even Papiſts and nonjurors, known rebels, or men of rebellious principles, the moſt ambitious and wicked amongſt the clergy, the moſt debauched and ſtupid amongſt the laity. What ſermons have they preached, what books have they wrote, againſt Popery, though their flocks be every day decreaſing? What exhortations againſt popiſh principles, which are conſtantly growing upon us? Whom do they

treat as their avowed enemies, but the friends to the *revolution*, the moſt ſteady friends to the eſtabliſhment which they have ſworn to, the proteſtant diſſenters, and ſuch of their own body as regard their oaths, and the principles of the *reformation?* What have you gained by all the favours lately ſhewn to them? Which of them have been obliged by theſe conceſſions? You have given them the firſt fruits: You have in effect repealed the ſtatute of *Mortmain:* you have given them a ſhorter method to recover their tythes: you have encreaſed their number and riches by building more churches: you have ſate ſtill, whilſt they have been deſtroying the modus's thro' *England*, buying up your advowſons, extorting upon their tenants. and making thoſe eſtates more precarious, which were always before eſteemed as certain intereſts as any in *Great Britain:* has all this obliged them? Has it taught them moderation? On the contray, it encreaſes their demands upon you. Be aſſured, that they will never be ſatisfied, never think that they have enough, whilſt you have a penny left; and when they have got all your lands, they muſt ride and enſlave your perſons.

Will you bear, gentlemen, ſuch conſtant and impudent inſults? Will you ſtill be governed by ſuch abandoned deceivers? Are you men, freemen, rational men; and will you bear this wild and prieſtly war againſt human nature, againſt freedom, and againſt reaſon? Will you indeed believe them, when they pretend any regard to you and your intereſt? And is it upon your ſcore that they practiſe perjury and rebellion themſelves, and promote it in others?

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, June 1. 1723. N°. 131.

Of reverence true and falſe.

SIR,

THE word *reverence* has had the fate of many, indeed of almoſt all, good words, and done much miſchief: it ſignifies a ſolemn regard paid to the perſons of men of gravity, of religion, and of authority. By theſe qualifications men are entitled to it. But when the pride and craft of men, who have no real gravity, no real religion, or a fooliſh one, and only a pretended or an abſurd authority, would annex reverence only to grave or groteſque names, it becomes as ridiculous to men of good ſenſe, as it ſeems awful to ſuch as have none. Reverence belongs only to reverend qualities and reverend actions. As to names and habits, the more grave they are, the more ludicrous they become, when worn by perſons who live looſely, and act ludicrouſly.

Garments ſignify nothing themſelves. They grow firſt ſolemn, by being firſt worn by men of character and ſolemnity: but the moſt ſolemn garment becomes contemptible and diverting upon the back of a droll, a buffoon, or upon a cheat or mountebank of any kind. The graveſt man alive dreſſed up in the cap and coat of a harlequin, would look like a harlequin; and the graveſt ſpeech that he could make would be laughed at: yet a coat of many colours was a coat of value in the *Eaſt*, in *Jacob*'s time, and his favourite ſon *Joſeph* wore one. Nor do our own ladies loſe any reſpect by wearing all the colours of the peacock and the rainbow. On the other ſide, the grave-

eſt clothes put upon burleſque animals, will look burleſque. A monkey in a deep coat, and a broad beaver, would be ſtill more a monkey, and his grimace would be ſtill more a diverting grimace; and a hog in a pair of jack-boots, and a coat of mail, would make no formidable figure, notwithſtanding his warlike equipment.

Theſe two laſt inſtances of the monkey and the hog may be farther improved, to ſhew the ſpirit of falſe reverence. A monkey in a red coat, and a hog in armour, would give no offence to a ſoldier, becauſe his character conſiſts in actions which theſe creatures cannot perform nor mimic; and conſequently theſe animals, though accoutered like a ſoldier, cannot ridicule a ſoldier. But if you put a popiſh mitre, and the reſt of that ſort of gear, upon a hog, the uſeleſs and ſtupid ſolemnity of the animal gives you inſtantly the idea of a popiſh biſhop, and, if you are not a Papiſt, will divert you: Or, if you dreſs up a baboon in the fantaſtical habit of a Romiſh prieſt, that animal which can chatter much and unintelligibly, and can really do moſt of the tricks which the prieſt himſelf can do, does genuinely repreſent the original; and therefore creates true mirth, and fully ſhews, that there cannot be much reverence in that which a baboon can perform as well, for ought I know better, as he is naturally a creature of grimace and humour. And if the ſaid biſhop and prieſt could not with any temper bear the ſight, their rage and impatience would be ſtill farther proofs, that the monkey did them juſtice, that the trial was ſucceſsful, and the mirth occaſioned by it juſt. Such ſport would indeed be tragical in popiſh countries; which is but another confirmation, that falſe reverence cannot bear ridicule, and that the true is not affected by it.

Many of the ancient *Greek* philoſophers took great pride, and found mighty reverence, in the length and gravity of their beards. Now an old goat, who had

as much gravity and beard as any of them, had he been placed in one of their chairs, would, doubtleſs, have provoked the philoſopher, and diverted the aſſembly. Pomp and beard were therefore ridiculous, ſince they could be ridiculed: but nothing that conſtitutes a philoſopher, neither genius nor virtue, nor uſeful learning, nor any thing that is good for ſomething, can be ridiculed, at leaſt juſtly ridiculed. The odd dance of judges and biſhops in the *Rehearſal*, does neither ridicule biſhops nor judges, becauſe they never practiſe ſuch odd dances: but if theſe grave men met and gambolled together, as they do there, the ridicule would be ſtrong upon them.

It is a jeſt, to expect from all men great reverence to that which every man may do, whether it conſiſt in reading, or repeating, or wearing, or acting. Where is the difficulty or merit of ſaying certain words, or of making bows, or of ſpreading the arms, or croſſing them, or of wearing a long coat, or a ſhort cravat? It is impudence and impoſture to demand ſingular and vaſt reſpect to ſmall and common things. Superior virtue and capacity, public actions and ſervices done to mankind, a generous and benevolent heart, and greatneſs of mind, are the true objects and ſources of reverence. But to claim reverence to prating, to cuts, and colours, and poſtures, is ſtupid, ridiculous and ſaucy. The *A b c* of a tinker, is as good as a pope's *A b c*; and it is open cheating and conjuring to pretend, that the ſame words have not the ſame force out of the mouth of a cobler as out of a cardinal's mouth. When any one of theſe mighty claimers (I had almoſt ſaid clamourers) of reverence from their viſionary empire of words and tricks, can by the magic of their art remove a mountain or a mole hill, or raiſe a honſe, or a dead inſect, or kill a heretic, or a graſhopper by a charm, I am ready to bow down before them: but while I ſee any of them living like other men, or worſe,

and doing nothing but what ſo many chimney-ſweepers (who can read) may do as well; I can conſider ſuch who do ſo only as ſolemn lyars, and ſeducers; and as much worſe than fortune-tellers, as they cheat people out of much more money, and fill their minds with worſe terrors.

The *Roman Augurs* made no ſuch baſe uſe of their power, and of their ghoſtly trade, which was inſtituted, at leaſt practiſed, for the ends of good policy; and, as far as I can find, they had no revenues: I would therefore have reſpected them, as they were great officers of the *Roman* ſtate. But had an *Augur*, as an *Augur*, demanded reverence of me for his long ſtaff, his tricks, and divinations, I ſhould have done what *Cato* the elder wondered they themſelves did not do as often as they met, laughed in his face, as I would in the face of any man who pretended to be my ſuperior and director, becauſe his coat was longer than mine, or of a different colour; or becauſe he uttered words which I could utter as well, or played pranks which a poſture maſter could play better.

I will reverence a man for the good which he does, or is inclined to do; and for no other reaſon ought I. But if under the pretence of doing me good, which I neither ſee nor feel, he pick my pocket, and do me ſenſible harm, or would do it; how can I help hating and deſpiſing him? If he turn religion into ſelfiſhneſs, and a plain trade, or by it deſtroy morality; if he ſet himſelf up in God's ſtead, and by pretending boldly to his power, abuſe his holy name, and oppreſs his creatures; if he exclaim againſt covetouſneſs, and be governed by it; and practiſe every vice which he condemns; if he preach againſt the world, and yet have never enough of it; and againſt the fleſh, and yet be viſibly governed by all its worſt paſſions and appetites; if he take immenſe wages for promoting the welfare of ſociety, and yet diſturb, impoveriſh, and enſlave it; how can I reverence him,

if I would? And is he not loſt to all modeſty if he deſire it?

If men would preſerve themſelves from ſuperſtition, and ſervitude, and folly, they muſt beware of reverencing names and accidents. A wiſe man does not reverence rulers for their *inſignia* and great titles: as there is no uſe of rulers, but to do ſervice to mankind, he reverences them for that ſervice done: If they do none, he deſpiſes them: if they do miſchief, he hates them. What are men reverenced for, but for the good talents which they poſſeſs, or for the uſeful offices which they bear. Now if a man have never a good quality, or having ſuch, abuſe them; or if he do no good with the office which he bears, but harm, (which he muſt do, if he do no good) every omiſſion by which many are hurt, being a crime againſt many; how am I to reverence him, for taking away by his conduct the only cauſe of reverence? If he give me cauſe to hate him, am I for all that to love him? Either there is no ſuch paſſion as hatred, which none but a madman will ſay, or it muſt be raiſed by the cauſes that raiſe it; and what are thoſe cauſes, but miſchief done, when good is due, and expected; or the diſappointment of a great good, which is a great miſchief.

But when people are taught to reverence butchers, robbers, and tyrants, under the reverend name of rulers, to adore the names and perſons of men, tho' their actions be the actions of devils: then here is a confirmed and accompliſhed ſervitude, the ſervitude of the body, ſecured by the ſervitude of the mind; oppreſſion fortified by deluſion. This is the height of human ſlavery. By this, the *Turk* and the Pope reign. They hold their horrid and ſanguinary authority by falſe reverence, as much as by the ſword. The *Sultan* is of the family of *Ottoman*, and the Pope St. *Peter*'s ſucceſſor; they are therefore reverenced, while they deſtroy human race. The Chriſtians hate the *Turk*,

and call him a tyrant: proteſtants dread the pope, and call him an impoſtor. Yet I could name Chriſtians who have tyrants of their own, as bad as the *Sultan*; I could name proteſtants who have had impoſtors of their own as cruel as the pope, had their power been as great, and their hands as looſe. Men ſee the follies and ſlavery of others; but their own nonſenſe is all ſacred, their own popes and *Sultans* are all of heavenly deſcent, and their authority juſt and inviolable. But truth and falſhood, wiſdom and folly, do not vary with the conceptions and prepoſſeſſions of men. Affliction and miſery, oppreſſion and impoſture, are as bad in Chriſtendom as in *Turkey*, in *Holland* as in *Rome*. Proteſtant rulers have no more right than the *Sultan* to oppreſs proteſtants; and the pope has as good a title as a proteſtant parſon to deceive proteſtants. God forbid that all religions ſhould be alike; but all who make the ſame ill uſe of every religion, are certainly alike; as are all governors, *Turkiſh*, popiſh, or proteſtant, who make the ſame ill uſe of power.

If therefore all governors whatſoever, of what conduct ſoever, be to be reverenced; why not the *Turk* and old *Muly* of *Morocco*, who are both great governors, and have as much a divine authority to be tyrants, as any governor of any name or religion ever had? And if all clergy whatſoever be to be reverenced, why not the *Druids*, and the prieſts of *Baal*, and the prieſts of *Mecca* and of *Rome*? but if only the good of both ſorts be to be reverenced, why have we been told ſo much of the mighty reſpect due in the lump, to prieſts and rulers? Is there any other way in common ſenſe to gain reſpect, but to deſerve it? Could the *Romans* reverence their governor *Nero* for robbing them of their lives and eſtates, for burning their city, and for wantonly making himſelf ſport with human miſeries? Could the firſt Chriſtians re-

verence him for dreſſing them up in the ſkins of wild beaſts, and ſetting on other wild beaſts to devour them; or for larding them all over with pitch and tallow, and lighting them up like lamps to illuminate the city?

If we reverence men for their power alone, why do we not reverence the devil, who has ſo much more power than men? But if reverence be due only to virtuous qualities and uſeful actions, it is as ridiculous and ſuperſtitious to adore great miſchievous men, or unholy men with holy names, as it is to worſhip a falſe god, or ſatan in the ſtead of God. Are we to be told, that though we be to worſhip no god but the good and true God, yet we are to pay reverence, which is human worſhip, to wicked men, provided they be great men, and to honour the falſe ſervants of the true God, whom they diſhonour? Or, that any ſort of men can be his ſervants or deputies in any ſenſe but a good and ſanctified ſenſe? And if they be not, are we for the ſake of God, to reverence thoſe who belye him, and are our enemies? Or, am I to reverence the men, though I deteſt their actions and qualities which conſtitute the characters of men? Can I love or hate men, but for what they are, and for what they do? We ought to reverence that which is good, and the men that are good: are we therefore to reverence wickedneſs and folly, and thoſe who commit them? Or, becauſe they have good names and offices, which are to be honoured, are they to be honoured for abuſeing thoſe good things, and for turning good into evil?

We muſt deſerve reverence before we claim it. If a man occupy an honourable office, civil or ſacred, and act ridiculouſly or knaviſhly in it, do I diſhonour that office by contemning or expoſing the man who diſhonours it? Or ought I not to ſcorn him, as much as I reverence his office, which he does all

he can to bring into ſcorn? I have all poſſible eſteem for quality; but if a man of quality act like an ape, or a clown, or a pick-pocket, or a profligate, I ſhall heartily hate or deſpiſe his lordſhip, notwithſtanding my great reverence for lords. I honour epiſcopacy; but if a biſhop be an hypocrite, a time-ſerver, a traytor, a ſtock-jobber, or a hunter after power, I ſhall take leave to ſcorn the prelate, for all my regard for prelacy.

It is not a name, however awful, nor an office, however important, that ought to bring, or can bring, reverence to the man who poſſeſſes them, if he act below them, or unworthily of them. Folly and villainy ought to have no aſylum; nor can titles ſanctify crimes, however they may ſometimes protect criminals. A right honourable or a right reverend rogue, is the moſt dangerous rogue, and conſequently the moſt deteſtable.

Omne animi vitium tanto conſpectius in ſe
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.

Juvenal.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, June 8. 1723. N°. 132.

Inquiry into the doctrine of hereditary right.

SIR,

WE have had a world of talk both in our pulpits and our addreſſes, about hereditary right, and I think that no one has yet fully explained what it means; I will therefore try whether I can unfold or cut aſunder the gordian knot. It is a divine, unalterable, indefeaſible right to ſovereignty, dictated or modified by the poſitive laws, and human conſtitutions of national governments. In *France*, *Turkey*, and the large eaſtern monarchies, it deſcends wholly upon the males. In the kingdom, or rather queendom of *Achem*, it falls only upon females. In *Ruſſia* formerly it deſcended upon all the males jointly, and it would not operate upon the females at all. In *Poland* the nobility have an human right to confer part of this divine right, but not all of it, upon whom they pleaſe; and in *Old Rome* the ſoldiery often made bold to confer it: but in *England* and other countries, all of it falls upon the male who chances to be born firſt; and ſo on to the next, according to priority of birth; and for want of males to the eldeſt female, contrary to other inheritances, which deſcend upon females equally. However, though this ſame right be abſolute and unalterable, yet it is often limited and circumſcribed by human laws, which ought not to be tranſgreſſed, yet may be tranſgreſſed with impunity, unleſs it interfere with another divine right, which is the divine right of the high clergy. In all other

caſes it is boundleſs and unconditioned, though given and accepted upon conditions.

There is one circumſtance particularly remarkable in the exerciſe of this divine right; namely, that it may make as bold as it thinks fit with other divine right (except as before excepted) of which we have a late and very pregnant inſtance, approved by very good churchmen, and all our able divines, who thanked God publicly for thus exerciſing it; that is, when the queen made that honourable peace which executed itſelf. Then the unalterable divine right of the Dauphin to the kingdom of *Spain* was given to his younger ſon, and the indefeaſible divine right of the preſent king of *Spain*, to the monarchy of *France*, was aſſigned over to a younger branch of the houſe of *Bourbon*; and ſometime before the divine right of the laſt emperor to the *Spaniſh* dominions, was given to the preſent emperor. Nay, it ſeems that this alienable, unalienable, indiviſible right, is diviſible too. The divine right of *Sardinia*, is given to the duke of *Savoy*; that of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Flanders*, to the emperor; and that of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to us, as long as we can keep it; which I hope we are now in a fair way to do. All the reſt of this divine right, beſides what is thus diſpoſed of, remains where it was before, and where it ſhould be.

But there are certain human ingredients, experiments, and operations, which are neceſſary to attain to this divine right. In moſt countries, and particularly in our own, the prieſts muſt have a finger in modelling the ſame; nor will it come down from above, and ſettle here below upon any prince whatſoever, unleſs they ſay certain words over the married couple, which they alone have the right to ſay: but in *Turkey*, *India*, and other Mahometan and Pagan countries (*heu pudor!*) this ſame divine right is to be got without the benefit of their clergy, and will make

its conveyance through the channel of a ſtrumpet; yet in moſt nations all is not well, unleſs the clergy ſay grace over it: but then it is of no conſequence who it is that gets the divine babe, ſo he be but born in wedlock; and in a late inſtance it appeared no ways neceſſary whether he were born in wedlock or not, or of whom he was born, ſo he were but born at all. Now, Sir, you muſt know, that this is a myſtery, and like ſome other myſteries, wholly inexplicable, yet may be explained by the *Jacobite* clergy; but then you are not to underſtand the explication, but are to take their words for it; and we all know that they are men of probity, and will not deceive you. From this divine right all other rights are derived, except their own, which comes down from above too; and if the poſſeſſors of theſe two divine rights can agree together, all is as it ſhould be; otherwiſe, you are to take notice, that God is to be obeyed before man, and the regale is to bow down, like the ſheaves in *Joſeph*'s dream, before the pontificate.

But this is not all: there are ſome circumſtances very particular and whimſical in this divine right. Tho', as has been ſaid, it may be conveyed away, yet nothing paſſes by the conveyance in many caſes: part of it may be granted and conceded to its ſubjects, and yet they have no right to keep what is ſo given, always excepting the high-clergy, who may take it without being given. I had almoſt forgot another conveyance of this right, which is conqueſt, or, in other words, the divine right of plunder, rapine, maſſacre: but the right is never the worſe for the wickedneſs of men; for howſoever they get poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, the right is that moment annexed to the poſſeſſion, unleſs in ſpecial caſes, ſtill preſerving a right to the *Jacobite* clergy, to give a right to whomſoever they elſe pleaſe. This ſame right is of ſo odd and bizarre a nature, that it receives no addition or diminution

from the conſent of men, or the want of that conſent. It is lawful to ſwear to it, when there is an intereſt in doing ſo; yet it is no ways neceſſary to believe what you ſwear, or to keep your oath. It is not to be reſiſted; yet in particular caſes it may be oppoſed. It is limited, and yet unlimitable. You may make laws to bind it, yet it is treaſon and damnation to defend thoſe laws, unleſs you have the *verbum ſacerdotis* on your ſide.

What contradictions, abſurdities, and wickedneſs, are men capable of! We have a ſet of abandoned wretches amongſt ourſelves, who ſeem to have a deſign to deſtroy human race, as they would human reaſon! Every doctrine, every opinion, which they advance, is levelled againſt the happineſs of all mankind. Nothing conduces to virtue, to true religion, to the preſent or future intereſts of men, but is repreſented as deſtructive to piety. We are to be the vaſſals of tyrants, the dupes of impoſtors, the zanies of mountebanks, or elſe are in a ſtate of damnation. Men, for whoſe ſakes government was inſtituted, have no right to be protected by government. Religion, which was given by almighty God, to make men virtuous here, and happy hereafter, has been made uſe of to deſtroy their happineſs, both here, and hereafter. Scarce any thing is diſcovered to be true in nature and philoſophy, but is proved to be falſe in orthodoxy: what is found to be beneficial to mankind in their preſent ſtate, is repreſented hurtful to their future; nay, ſome are riſen up amongſt us, who are ſuch implacable enemies to their ſpecies, that they make it ſin to take proper precautions againſt the danger of the ſmall-pox, even when they are adviſed by the moſt able phyſicians, and when theſe phyſicians are moſt diſintereſted.

What can be more cruel, wicked, and detrimental to human ſociety, or greater blaſphemy againſt the good God; than to make government, which was

deſigned by him to render men numerous, induſtrious, and uſeful to one another, deſigned to improve arts, ſciences, learning, virtue, magnanimity and true religion, an unnatural engine to deſtroy the greateſt part of the world? to make the reſt poor, ignorant, ſuperſtitious and wicked; to ſubject them like cattle, to be the property of their oppreſſors; to be the tame ſlaves of haughty and domineering maſters, and the low homagers of gloomy pedants; to work for, to fight for, and to adore thoſe who are neither better nor wiſer than themſelves; and to be wretched by millions, to make one or a few proud and inſolent? And yet we are told, that this is the condition which God has placed us in, and that it is damnation to ſtrive to make it better.

All theſe miſchiefs, and many more, are the inſeperable conſequences of an indefeaſible hereditary right in any man, or family whatſoever; if it can never be alienated or forfeited: for if this be true, then the property of all mankind may be taken away, their religion overturned, and their perſons butchered by thouſands, and no remedy attempted: they muſt not mutter and complain; for complaints are ſedition, and tend to rebellion: they muſt not ſtand upon their defence, for that is reſiſting the Lord's anointed: they muſt not revile the miniſters and inſtruments of his power; for woe be to the man who ſpeaketh ill of him whom the king honoureth. And all this has been told us by thoſe who have never ſhewn any regard to authority, either human or divine, when it interfered with their own intereſts. What ſhall I ſay; what words uſe to expreſs this monſtrous wickedneſs, this utter abſence of all virtue, religion, or tenderneſs to the human ſpecies: what colours can paint it, what pen can deſcribe it!

Certainly, if government was deſigned by God for the good, happineſs, and protection of men, men have a right to be protected by government; and eve-

ry man muſt have a right to defend what no man has a right to take away. There is not now a government ſubſiſting in the world, but took its riſe from the inſtitution of men; and we know from hiſtory when, and how it was inſtituted: It was either owing to the expreſs or tacit conſent of the people, or of the ſoldiers, who firſt erected it; it could have no more power than what they gave it; and what perſons ſoever were inveſted with that power, muſt have accepted it upon the conditions upon which it was given; and when they renounced thoſe conditions, they renounced their government. In ſome countries it was hereditary; in others elective; in ſome diſcretionary; in others limited: but in all, the governors muſt have derived their authority from the conſent of men, and could exerciſe it no farther than that conſent gave them leave. Where poſitive conditions were annexed to their power, they were certainly bound by thoſe conditions; and one condition muſt be annexed to all governments, even the moſt abſolute, That they act for the good of the people; for whoſe ſake alone there is any government in the world. In this regard there can be no difference between hereditary and elective monarchies; for the heir cannot inherit more than his anceſtor enjoyed, or had a right to enjoy, any more than a ſucceſſor can ſucceed to it.

Then the wiſe queſtion will ariſe, What if any man, who has no natural right, nor any right over his fellow creatures, accept great powers, immenſe honours and revenues, and other perſonal advantages to himſelf and his poſterity, upon conditions either expreſs, as in all limited conſtitutions, or implied, as in all conſtitutions whatſoever; and yet either by deliberate declarations, or deliberate actions, publicly proclaim, that he will no longer be bound by thoſe conditions, that he will no longer abide by his legal title, but will aſſume another that was never given him, and to which he can have no right at all; that he will govern

his people by deſpotic authority; that, inſtead of protecting them, he will deſtroy them; that he will overturn their religion, to introduce one of his own; and, inſtead of being a terror to evil works, will be a terror to good: I aſk, in ſuch a caſe, Whether his ſubjects will be bound by the conditions which he has renounced? Do the obligations ſubſiſt on their part, when he has deſtroyed them on his? And are they not at liberty to ſave themſelves, and to look out for protection elſewhere, when it is denied where they have a right to expect and demand it; and to get it as they can, though at the expence of him and his family, when no other method or recourſe is left?

And now, O ye gloomy impoſtors! O ye mercileſs advocates for ſuperſtition and tyranny! Produce all your texts, all your knotty diſtinctions! Here exert all your quaint eloquence, your *quiddities*, your *aliquo modo fit*, *aliquo modo non*; appear in ſolemn dump, with your reverential robes, and your horizontal hats, with whole legions of phantoms and chimeras, and cart-loads of theology, broken oaths, and ſeditious harangues, and try whether you can maintain the battle, and defend the field againſt one ſingle adverſary, who undertakes to put all your numerous and fairy battalions to flight.

Let us hear what you can ſay for your abdicated idol. Diſtinguiſh, if you can, his caſe from that which I have repreſented: ſhew that almighty God gave him a divine right to play the devil; or, if he had no ſuch right, that his ſubjects had none to hinder him: prove that kings are not inſtituted for the good of the people, but for their own and the clergy's pride and luxury: but if they be inſtituted for the good of the people, then ſhew that they are left at liberty to act for their deſtruction, and that their ſubjects muſt ſubmit to inevitable ruin, yet kiſs the iron rod whenever his majeſty pleaſes: ſhew that it was poſſible for the kingdom to truſt themſelves again to the faith and

oaths of a popiſh prince, who, during his whole reign, did nothing elſe but break his faith and his oaths, and whoſe religion obliged him to do ſo; or that it was poſſible for them to place his ſon upon the throne which he had abdicated, (if they had believed him to be his ſon,) when he was in poſſeſſion of the moſt implacable enemy of their country, or of *Europe*, or of the Proteſtant religion; and that it would not have been direct madneſs to have ſent for him afterwards from *France*, or *Rome*, inraged by his expulſion, educated, animated, and armed with *French* and Popiſh principles; and ſhew too, that the poor oppreſſed people had any recourſe, but to throw themſelves under the protection of their great deliverer, who was next heir to their crown.

If you cannot do this, there is nothing left for you to do, but to ſhew, That the late king *James* did not violate and break the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, which were the original contract between him and his people: and that he did not make their allegiance to him incompatible with their own ſafety, for the preſervation of which he was entitled to their allegiance: ſhew that he did not claim and exerciſe a power to diſpenſe with their laws; that he did not levy the cuſtoms without the authority of parliament; or that he called parliaments according to the conſtitution which he had ſworn to; and that when he intended to call one, he did not reſolve to pack it, and cloſeted many of the gentlemen of *England*, and with promiſes and menaces endeavoured to make them practicable to his deſigns: ſhew that he did not diſarm Proteſtants, and arm Papiſts; ſet up exorbitant and unlawful courts; cauſe exceſſive bail to be required, exceſſive fines to be impoſed, and exceſſive puniſhments to be inflicted; that he did not proſecute members in the *King's-bench* for what they did in parliament; and diſcharge others committed by parliament; that he did not grant fines and forfeitures of perſons

to be tried, before their conviction; that he did not erect an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion directly againſt an act of parliament, and ſuſpended, by virtue of it, clergymen, for not reading in their churches a proclamation, which he iſſued by his own authority, to give liberty of conſcience to Papiſts and Proteſtant diſſenters; ſhew that he did not impriſon and try ſeven biſhops for their humble petition againſt it, which petition they were impowered by law to make; that he did not combine with *France* and *Rome* to overthrow the eſtabliſhed church, which he was bound to defend, and to introduce another in the room of it, which was worſe than none; that, in order to it, he brought not profeſſed Papiſts into offices, both civil and military; ſent not, nor received ambaſſadors to and from *Rome*, who were guilty of high-treaſon by the laws of the land, and brought not from thence ſwarms of locuſts, to devour and pollute every thing that it produced; turned not out the maſters and fellows of *Magdalen-college*, againſt law, for not doing what they were ſworn not to do, nor ſubſtituted in their room, thoſe who were not qualified by law to be there: and to make good all theſe breaches upon our liberties, that he did not raiſe a Popiſh army in *Ireland*, and another in *England*, which had many Papiſts in it, without authority of parliament.

Shew, if you can, that he ever diſcovered the leaſt inclination to reform theſe abuſes; but on the contrary, when he could continue them no longer, that he did not deſert his people: that he dared to truſt himſelf to a free parliament, after he had called it, and diſſolved it not again, and did not fooliſhly throw his great ſeal into the *Thames*, that no other might be called; and when he reſolved to leave his people, that he would ſuffer his pretended ſon to remain amongſt us. Shew that you yourſelves did not help to expel him; that you have not taken oaths, repeated oaths to this government, and abjurations of every other;

and that you have adhered to either one or the other. When you have done this, I will allow you to be honeſt men, good *Engliſhmen*, and true Proteſtants.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, June 15. 1723. N°. 133.

Of charity, and charity-ſchools.

SIR,

I Know well, that any one muſt run a great deal of hazard, who ſhall advance any opinions againſt what is vulgarly called charity, though it be ever ſo much miſtaken or miſcalled, as for the moſt part it is, and ever has been. The giving looſe money in the ſtreets to canting and lazy beggars, has obtained the name of charity, though it is generally a miſchievous liberality to encourage preſent idleneſs, or to reward paſt extravagancy, and is forbid by ſevere laws. The founding of monaſtries, nunneries, and other miſcalled religious houſes, has paſſed too upon the world in late ages for charity, though they have ever proved ſeminaries of ſuperſtition and of papal tyranny, diſcouragements of matrimony, the ſources of depopulation, and have made multitudes of people uſeleſs to the world and themſelves. The giving lands and revenues to ſaucy, aſpiring, and lazy eccleſiaſtics, has been reputed a meritorious action; yet ſuch actions have ever deſtroyed religion, increaſed the pride and dominion of the clergy, and depreſſed, impoveriſhed, and enſlaved the laity, for whoſe ſakes alone there ought to be any eccleſiaſtics at all. The

founding and endowing of univerſities, colleges, and free-ſchools, carries an appearance of promoting ſciences, learning, and true religion; yet they have been made uſe of to promote the kingdom of antechriſt, to debauch the principles of the nobility and gentry; to deprave their underſtandings; advance learned ignorance; load their heads with airy chimeras and fairy diſtinctions; fill ſtates with deſperate beggars and divines of fortune, who muſt force trade for a ſubſiſtance, and become the cudgels and tools of power or factions. A learned author juſtly compares theſe eſtabliſhments to the *Trojan* horſe, which carried hoſts of armed men within its bowels, to ſend them out afterwards to deſtroy kingdoms.

But there is another new-fangled charity riſen up amongſt us, called *Charity-ſchools*; which I think, threatens the public more than all which I have mentioned. I would not be underſtood to condemn every thing of that nature; for, under a proper regulation, ſomething like it may be commendable: but, as they are now employed and managed, I ſee no good that can accrue to the public from them, but apprehend a great deal of miſchief. Theſe eſtabliſhments were firſt begun and encouraged by pious men, many of them diſſenters; and then our high clergy every where exclaimed againſt them as dangerous innovations, and attempts to ſubvert the church and the national religion. But now they have got them under their own management, and they really prove what they foretold they would prove, they continually make harangues and panegyrical elogiums upon them, and upon the perſons who promote them. It is become part of their duty (and much better executed than all the reſt) to prate people out of their money; to decoy ſuperſtitious and factious men out of their ſhops and their buſineſs, and old doating women out of their infirmaries, to hear too often ſeditious harangues upon the power of the clergy, and of the reverence due to

them, and upon the merit of nurſing up beggars to be the blind tools of ambitious pedants; and lectures and inſtructions are there given them, inconſiſtent with our preſent eſtabliſhment of church and ſtate; and we have ſcare a news-paper but gives notice of ſermons to be preached upon this occaſion.

It is certain that there was almoſt every where a general deteſtation of Popery, and Popiſh principles, and a noble ſpirit for liberty, at or juſt before the *revolution*; and the clergy ſeemed then as zealous as the foremoſt. But when the corrupt part of them found themſelves freed from the dangers which they complained of, and could not find their ſeparate and old advantage in the *revolution*, they have been continually attacking and undermining it; and ſince they ſaw that it was impoſſible to perſuade thoſe who were witneſſes and ſufferers under the oppreſſions of the former governments, wantonly, and with their eyes open, to throw away their deliverance, they went a ſurer and more artful way to work, though more tedious and dilatory; and therefore have, by inſenſible degrees, corrupted all the youth whoſe education has been truſted to them, and who could be corrupted; ſo that at the end of near forty years, the *revolution* is worſe eſtabliſhed than when it began. New generations are riſen up, which knew nothing of the ſufferings of their fathers, and are taught to believe there were never any ſuch. The dread of Popery is almoſt loſt amongſt us; the vileſt tenets of it are openly aſſerted and maintained; men are taught to play with oaths; and it is become faſhionable to revile authority more for its commendable actions, than for its exceſſes. The principles of our nobility and gentry are debauched in our univerſities, and thoſe of our common people in our charity-ſchools, who are taught, as ſoon as they can ſpeak, to blabber out *High-church* and *Ormond;* and ſo are bred up

to be traitors, before they know what treaſon ſignifies.

This has been long ſeen, and as long complained of; yet no remedy has been applied, though often promiſed. Thoſe whoſe duty and buſineſs it ought to have been have had their time and thoughts ſo wholly engaged in modelling factions, and enriching themſelves, that this great evil has been ſuffered to go on, and ſtill goes on; it has been continually encreaſeing, and yet encreaſes; but I hope, at laſt, that thoſe in authority will take the alarm, will think their own ſafety, and the ſafety of his majeſty and his people, are highly concerned to remove a miſchief which is levelled at all their and our happineſs; and that they will not, like their predeceſſors, diſoblige all their friends to gratify their enemies, whom yet they cannot gratify. If this be not done, any one, without much ſkill in politics, may ſafely affirm, That our preſent eſtabliſhment cannot long ſubſiſt. A free government muſt ſubſiſt upon the affections of the people; and if thoſe affections be perpetually debauched; if the education of youth be altogether inconſiſtent with the nature of it; and if it muſt depend only upon converts, penſions, or armies, its duration cannot be long, without a conſtant ſucceſſion of miracles: armies will ſoon find their own ſtrength, and will play their own game: foreign armies will neither be thought on nor borne; and it is to be feared, that our domeſtic ones, upon every diſguſt, or proſpect of advantage, may fall into the intrigues and reſentments of their countrymen, when they grow to be general, and conſequently will be of leaſt uſe, when moſt wanted. We cannot ſure, ſo ſoon forget what the parliament army did formerly, and king *James*'s lately, and what was expected from our own in the late conſpiracy; and without ſuch expectations, it had been direct madneſs to have formed or engaged in ſuch an attempt, and the criminals had been more

properly ſent to *Bedlam* than to *Tyburn*, though they deſerved both.

But to apply myſelf more directly to the charity-ſchools; I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, that under the falſe pretence and affectation of charity, they deſtroy real charity, take away the uſual ſupport and proviſion from the children of leſſer tradeſmen, and often from thoſe of decayed and unfortunate merchants and gentlemen, and prevert the benevolence which would be otherwiſe beſtowed upon helpleſs widows, and poor houſe-keepers, who cannot, by reaſon of their poverty, maintain their families.

Every country can maintain but a certain number of ſhop-keepers, or retailers of commodities, which are raiſed or manufactured by others; and the fewer they are, the better; becauſe they add nothing to the public wealth; but only diſperſe and accommodate it to the convenience of artificers, manufacturers and huſbandmen, or ſuch who live upon their eſtates and profeſſions; and ſerve the public only by directing and governing the reſt: but as there muſt be many retailers of other mens induſtry, and the greateſt part of them will be but juſt able to ſupport themſelves, and with great pains, frugality and difficulty, breed up their families, and be able to ſpare ſmall ſums out of their little ſubſtance to teach their children to write and caſt accompt, and to put them out apprentices to thoſe of their own degree; ſo thoſe employments ought to fall to the ſhare of ſuch only; but now are moſtly anticipated, and engroſſed by the managers of the charity-ſchools; who, out of other peoples pockets, give greater ſums than the other can afford, only to take the loweſt dregs of the people from the plough and labour, to make them tradeſmen, and by conſequence drive the children of tradeſmen to the plough, to beg, to rob, or to ſtarve.

The ſame may be ſaid of ſervants, who are generally the children of the leſſer ſhop-keepers, though

ſometimes of decayed merchants and gentlemen, who have given them an education above the lower rank of people, which has qualified them to earn a comfortable ſubſiſtance this way, without much labour, to which they have never been uſed. Now, I have often heard, that one advantge propoſed by theſe charity-ſchools, is to breed up children to reading and writing, and a ſober behaviour, that they may be qualified to be ſervants: a ſort of idle and rioting vermin, by which the kingdom is already almoſt devoured, who are become every where a public nuiſance, and multitudes of them daily, for want of employment, betake themſelves to the highway and houſe-breaking, others to robbing and ſharping, or to the ſtews; and muſt do ſo, if we ſtudy new methods to encreaſe their numbers.

I have mentioned another miſchief which has flowed from this pretended charity; for it has, in effect, deſtroyed all other charities, which were before given to the aged, ſick, and impotent. I am told that there is more collected at the church doors in a day, to make theſe poor boys and girls appear in caps and livery-coats, than for all other poor in a year; and there is reaſon to preſume, that leſs ſtill is given to private charities, where the givers are almoſt the only witneſſes of their own actions: ſo that this benevolence is a commutation or compoſition for what was formerly given to widows, orphans, and to broken and unfortunate houſe-keepers. And how ſhould it be otherwiſe, when the clergymen in higheſt repute, ſtroll about from church to church, nay print public advertiſements of charity ſermons to be preached, recommending the merit of this ſort of liberality, the ſervice which it does to God and the church; and but faintly, or perhaps not at all, exhorting to any other: inſomuch, that the collections made every winter; by virtue of the king's letter, for the many miſerable in this great town, viſibly decreaſe, tho'

theſe collections be made from houſe to houſe, tho' the names of the givers, and ſums given, be entered down, and though all miniſters be directed by his majeſty and the biſhop of *London*, in their ſermons, to preſs this charity upon their congregations; which is notwithſtanding ſeldom done, unleſs in a faint manner, perhaps at the end of a ſermon; whereas, on the other occaſion, the ears of the auditors are deafened with the cry of the preacher, and their paſſions are all inflamed to a profuſe liberality; and thoſe who do not give, and give largely too, muſt incur reproach and contumely.

Oh! but ſay ſome pious, and many more impious and hypocritical people, What would you hinder poor boys and girls from being well clothed, from ſerving God, and being bred ſcholars? I anſwer, That there are few inſtances in which the public has ſuffered more, than in breeding up beggars to be what are called ſcholars, from the grave pedant and the ſolemn doctor, down to the humble writer and caſter of accompts; to attain which characters, does not require the pains and acuteneſs that are neceſſary to make a good cobler: yet they immediately fancy themſelves to be another rank of mankind, think that they are to be maintained in idleneſs, and out of the ſubſtance of others, for their fancied accompliſhments; are above day labour, and by an idle education, require a liſtleſſneſs to it; and when they cannot find the ſort of ſubſiſtence which they aſpire to, are always perplexing the world, and diſturbing other people. So that no education ought to be more diſcountenanced by a ſtate, than putting chimeras and airy notions into the heads of thoſe who ought to have pickaxes in their hands; than teaching people to read, write, and caſt accompt, who, if they were employed as they ought to be, can have no occaſion to make uſe of theſe acquirements, unleſs it be now and then to read the bible, which they

ſeldom or never do: beſides, they are told by their ſpiritual guides, that they muſt not underſtand it.

What benefit can accrue to the public by taking the dregs of the people out of the kennels, and throwing their betters into them? By leſſening the number of day-labourers, by whoſe induſtry alone, nations are ſupported, and the public wealth encreaſed? By multiplying the number of ſuch who add nothing to it, but muſt live out of the property of the reſt? By taking boys and girls from the low and neceſſary employments of life, making them impatient of the condition which they were born to, and in which they would have thought themſelves happy, to be ſempſtreſſes, footmen, and ſervant maids, and to teach them to read ballads? How much more uſeful a charity would it be, to give the ſame ſums to their parents to help them to raiſe their families, and breed up their children to ſpinning or hard labour, to help them to maintain themſelves, and to depend for the future upon their own hands for ſubſiſtence? Whereas, this ſort of charity is of no uſe, benefit, or eaſe to their parents, who muſt find them meat, drink, waſhing, and ſome cloaths, during the whole time which they ſpend at ſchools, and loſe at the ſame time, the little that they can otherwiſe earn, or what they would earn themſelves, whilſt they employed their children in going on errands, and doing little offices, which they can do as well: and all this for the pleaſure of ſeeing them a little better cloathed, hearing them ſing pſalms, and repeating by rot a catechiſm made for that purpoſe.

The pretence that this ſort of education will render them more uſeful members of ſociety, and will make them more virtuous and religious, is a mere chimera. How many are hanged at *Tyburn* that can write and read; or rather how few that cannot? And generally they all die for high church, and for the right line! Who are greater rogues than ſcholars,

as they are called? And what ſet of people have ſupplied the town with more whores than our ſpiritual fathers, who all have the practice of piety by them? Nothing keeps the herd of mankind ſo honeſt, as breeding them up to induſtry, and keeping them always employed in hard-labour, and letting them have no time or inducement from neceſſity to rob or cheat, or ſuperfluities to debauch with. Who are the perſons who have the conduct, and are at the head of theſe charity-ſchools? Are they men of the moſt exemplary piety and morals? No, I am told quite the contrary: they are, for the moſt part, ſtaunch *Jacobites*, or, in other words, furious high-churchmen; often men of debauched lives and principles; and the maſters of theſe ſchools are generally enemies to the eſtabliſhment. And what uſe do they make of their power? Why! they ſupply the children with what they want out of their own ſhops; get credit and intereſt amongſt their neighbours, for their charitable diſpoſition; make uſe of that credit to promote diſaffection to the government; engage the parents and friends of the children in the intereſt of a popiſh pretender, and breed up the chilren themſelves to fight his battles in due time.

I have been very much diverted to ſee, now and then, one of theſe poor creatures, ſkip over a kennel as nimble as a greyhound, to get to the other ſide of the way, that it might be ready to make a low bow to a parſon as he paſſed by; which order of men they are taught almoſt to adore; and I have been often told, (though I do not affirm, and can ſcarce believe it to be true,) that their duty to the clergy is inſerted in a catechiſm that is or has been taught them; but whether ſuch a catechiſm be committed to print or writing, or not, it is certain that their duty to God is not half ſo much, I will not ſay, inculcated into them, but obſerved by them, as the reverence and reſpect which they are made to be-

lieve is due to theſe holy men. And what uſe will be made of this blind adoration to ſuch perſons and their power, we may eaſily judge by what uſe ever has been made of it; which I think is well worth the time and thoughts of public authority, as of all men who wiſh well to their king, their country, and themſelves, ſeriouſly to reflect upon, and to provide againſt, before it be too late, and the miſchief be accompliſhed.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, June 29. 1723. N°. 134.

What ſmall and fooliſh cauſes often miſguide and animate the multitude.

SIR,

IT is ſurprizing what minute and contemptible cauſes create diſcontents, diſorders, violence, and revolutions amongſt men; what a ſmall ſpring can actuate a mighty and many headed multitude; and what mighty numbers one man is capable of drawing into his diſguſts and deſigns. It is the weakneſs of the many; when they have taken a fancy to a man, or to the name of a man, they take a fancy even to his failings, adopt his intereſt right or wrong, and reſent every mark of diſfavour ſhewn him, however juſt and neceſſary it be. Nor are the reſentments and fondneſs the leſs violent for being ill-grounded. If a man make them drunk once or twice a year, this injury is a kindneſs which they never forget; and he is ſure of their hearts and their hands for having ſo generouſly robbed them of their time, their innocence, and

their ſenſes. They are grateful for the miſchief done them; and in return, are ready to do any for him. He who reſtrains them from drunkenneſs, or even puniſhes them for it, is a greater and a real benefactor; but ſuch a benefactor as they will never forgive, and he is ſure to loſe their good will, probably to purchaſe their hatred

This ſhews how much their ſenſes are ſtronger than their underſtandings. They are governed not by judgment, but by ſenſations; and one guinea in drink obliges them more than two in clothes, or in any other dry way. Liquor warms their hearts, and fills them with the man who is the author of ſo much joy. So that to inſtruct them, feed them, and employ them, are not ſuch ſure ways to win them, as to miſlead and inflame them, and to waſte their time. For this reaſon, the ſober and the ſenſible clergyman is never ſo popular, as the loud, the factious, and the hot-headed. Rational and ſober inſtruction is a cold thing, and goes no farther than the underſtanding: but noiſe and raving awaken and intoxicate the animal ſpirits, and ſet the blood on fire, and have all the effects of wine.

So that in raiſing parties and factions, inflaming goes a thouſand times further than reaſoning and teaching. A fooliſh ſpeech, ſupported with vehemence and brandy, will conquer the beſt ſenſe, and the beſt cauſe in the world, without anger or liquor. Sobriety and capacity are not talents that recommend to the crowd, who are always taken with ſhallow pomp and ſound, and with men of little reſtraints. The debauched and the ſuperſtitious have great hold of them: men who will ſin with them, or men who can give them amulets againſt the vengeance due to ſinning. But men who will neither corrupt them, nor deceive them, are to them diſtaſteful ſtoicks, or frightful infidels, and ſometimes uſed as ſuch. One may at any time gain an intereſt in a mob with a barrel

of beer, or without it, by means of a few odd ſounds, that mean nothing, or ſomething very wild or wicked. Let any ſuperſtition, though ever ſo wild or fooliſh, be advanced by one who has credit enough to deceive them; let any favourite party watch-word be invented, and pronounced in ſuch a tone and ſuch a poſture, it ſoon becomes ſacred, and in the higheſt eſteem; and woe be to him that ſpeaks againſt a myſtery: Every argument ſhall be an affront and a ſign of unbelief; which is a crime always higheſt, and moſt hated, when it is beſt grounded. The managers of the charm, on the contrary, are men of vaſt reverence, moment, and popularity: and a zeal for the charm, creates guards and revenues to the charmers. If you go about to expoſe the impoſture, and unfold the cheat, you are a foe to all religion, and will believe nothing without evidence. The ſuperſtition grows in eſtabliſhed repute, and it is dangerous to oppoſe it, till ſome other, often more abſurd, and conſequently more prevailing, undermines and exterminates it: for there is that propenſity in moſt men to deluſion and grimace, that they ſeldom recur to the plain and amiable precepts taught in the ſcripture, and to a religion without ſhew, pageantry, and ceremonies; but ſuperſtition almoſt always ſubſiſts in ſome ſhape or other, and grows ſtrong and reverenced in proportion to its weakneſs, nonſenſe, and abſurdity: as it is admired in proportion as it is fooliſh or wonderful, it is believed in proportion as it is incredible. So that the credulity of the people for the moſt part follows the wiſe improvement of nonſenſe: *Cupidine ingenii humani libentius obſcura credi.* Tacit.

Conſidering the weakneſs of man's nature, prone to imaginary fears, to lean upon imaginary props, and to ſeek imaginary cures, limited deluders are often to be borne; but the worſt is, that they will not be limited, but extend their guile to inſtances where it is not wanted; and from managing his whims, aſſume

a right to direct his property, his eating and drinking, and every part of his behaviour; and turn canting and telling dreams, into authority and ruling.

The *Egyptians* have been always a most superstitious nation, always under the dominion of their priests, and consequently prone to tumults and insurrections. Their priests were at one time arrived to that monstrous pitch of power and tyranny, that they used to dispatch their kings by a message. If they did but signify their pious pleasure, that his majesty was to cut his throat, he durst not refuse, but must humbly take the knife, and be his own executioner. But the power of the priests was weakened, and the danger of frequent rebellions prevented, by the following stratagem of one of the princes. He considered the madness of the multitude after their gods, and their priests; and that their unity in religious frenzy and nonsense, disposed them to unanimity in their civil rage. He therefore divided *Egypt* into several districts, and endowed every district with its peculiar and separate deities. He knew, that if they differed about their gods, or divine cattle, and vegetables of worship, and about the rites paid them, they would agree about nothing else, and consequently never to conspire against him. One division had for its deity a monkey, another had a cat, another a crocodile, another a kite; and some adored leeks and garlic, savoury gods of their own planting.

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis numina! ——.

This dividend of deities had the desired effect. The several districts abhorred all the neighbouring celestial gentry as intensely and madly as they doated on their own; and were ready to spill their blood, either offensively, or defensively, for the honour and interest of these their different divinities. Hence the religi-

ous and bloody war between two neighbouring towns, finely deſcribed by *Juvenal* with his uſual force and indignation.

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua ſimultas,
Immortale odium & nunquam ſanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, ombas & tentyra. Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus; cum ſolos credit habendos
Eſſe deos quos ipſe colit.---- Juv. Sat 15.

When people are once divided in their affections, every thing, however innocent and indifferent, if it be peculiar to the one, becomes a mark of iniquity, and an object of hatred to the other. A different hat or coat becomes the ſource of reſentment, when perhaps a cloak or a ruff creates friendſhip and eſteem. A judgment is made of the hearts of men by their habit, and particular good or bad qualities are annexed to cloth and colours. There are inſtances of monarchs depoſed and murdered by their people for wearing a foreign dreſs, or for ſpeaking a foreign language: and there are inſtances of nations perſecuted, waſted, and laid in blood by their princes, for uſing, or not uſing, particular geſtures and ſounds, which their highneſſes had taken a liking to; and of princes uſed the ſame way by their people for the ſame reaſons.

If they take an affection to the word *Abracadabra*, though they join to it no certain idea, they think themſelves juſtified in oppreſſing, and ſometimes in butchering all who do not profeſs the ſame vehement affection to the ſame ſenſeleſs ſound. But the man who is loud and mutinous for *Abracadabra* is their darling: they grow fond of him for being fond of their word: his fondneſs is a compliment to them; and they will venture life and limb for a cheat, or a blockhead, who opens his mouth juſt as they do theirs.

Their zeal is the fiercer, becauſe it is blind. If they fall religiouſly in love with an ape or an ox, or with thoſe that tend them, as the *Egyptians* did, he is preſently a blaſphemer, who does not debaſe his underſtanding or forfeit his ſincerity, by ſacrificing ſhamefully and devoutly to theſe brute creatures, and by reverencing and pampering the ſolemn *Merry Andrews* that look after them.

The great iſland of *Madagaſcar* is divided into two great parts and parties, who are at fierce ſtrife and everlaſting war about a ſanctified elephant's tooth, which both own to have come down from heaven, and both pretend to have it; and I am not ſure whether it has not worked miracles on both ſides: but as neither ſide will allow the other to have it, they hate one another as much as they love and hate the ſaid tooth. *Great is the elephant of* Madagaſcar, *and the tuſk which fell down from* Jupiter!

The *Turks* and the *Perſians* are equally the devout, the blind, and bigotted followers of *Mahomet*, and differ in no point of doctrine. This doctrinal unanimity, one would think, muſt be a powerful bond of union, at leaſt of religious union, between the two empires. But no ſuch matter. They treat one another as execrable heretics and infidels, and do not hate the Chriſtians more, though their only or principal difference in opinion is, that the *Turks* hold *Omar* for the true ſucceſſor of *Mahomet*, and the *Perſians* maintain that *Ali* was. They tie their religion, at leaſt the efficacy of it, to the ſucceſſion; and deny that there can be any ſalvation in any church where the uninterrupted ſucceſſion is not kept up: ſo that each ſide is damned in the opinion of each. This hatred and diviſion is encreaſed by another momentuous difference, the difference of the colours and caps which they wear. The *Turks* wear white turbants, and the *Perſians* wear red bonnets. Theſe are ſuch abominable marks of hereſy and ſchiſm, as deſerve to be expiated with

blood: and therefore that hereſy has always been aſ. ſigned as a principal cauſe of their many mutual invaſions, mercileſs wars and devaſtations.

I wiſh I could not ſay, that the wiſe and grave *Engliſh* nation have had alſo their holy and outragious quarrels about words and motions, crape and cloth, bonnets and colours, and about the eaſtern and weſtern ſituation of joint-ſtools. Thank God it is not quite ſo bad at preſent, no thanks to our education.

I would, for a concluſion to this letter, only deſire it to be conſidered, what infamy and contempt it reflects upon the human underſtanding, and indeed upon the human ſpecies, to be thus apt to run into diſcord and animoſities upon ſuch wretched and unmannerly motives; and what monſters and impoſtors they muſt be, who begin, or manage, or heighten, theſe abſurd and impious contentions amongſt any part of the race of men, already too unhappy by the lot of nature.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, July 6. 1723. N°. 135.

Inquiry into the indelible character claimed by ſome of the clergy.

SIR,

I Have lately given you the genuine meaning of two very nonſenſical words, as they are vulgarly underſtood, thoſe of *hereditary right*. In this I ſhall a little animadvert upon two other words in as much uſe, even the *indelible character*. This I chuſe to do, becauſe no ſmall number of eccleſiaſtics, and ſome, as I have heard, of the higheſt character, dare to aſſert, that though the late biſhop of *Rocheſter* be deprived of his biſhopric, and expelled the kingdom, yet *he remains a biſhop of the univerſal church*, which are ſome more nonſenſical words. Indeed, there is ſcarce a theological ſyſtem in the world, (legal eſtabliſhments excepted,) but contains almoſt as many falſhoods as words, and as much nonſenſe as matter. Give the corrupt prieſts but ſome odd, unintelligible, and ill favoured words, ſuppoſe *hic hæc hoc*, *trim tram*, *bow wow*, *fee*, *fa*, *fum*, or any other ſound that is utterly void of any rational meaning, they ſhall inſtantly find profound myſtery in it, and fetch ſubſtantial advantages out of it: nay, when they are got in full poſſeſſion of the ſaid word, you are damned if you deny it to be ſenſe, and damned if you endeavour to make ſenſe of it.

The indelible character, is one of their beloved phraſes, from which they derive great importance and authority; yet it is a palpable contradiction to all common ſenſe. By it they mean a certain inviſible facul-

ty, which is peculiar to themſelves, of doing certain duties, which they could have done as well before they had it. It is a divine commiſſion, or power to do that every where, which human powers can hinder them from doing any where. It neither conveys virtue, holineſs, nor underſtanding, and has no viſible operation; but authorizes thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it to uſe certain words, and perform certain actions and ceremonies, and act certain motions, all which moſt other men could pronounce, perform, and act as well as they can, but, they tell us, not with equal effect: but then this effect is no ways viſible, nor comprehenſible, but through faith, and is far above all human conception.

How then, and by what marks, ſhall we know that any one has attained to this indelible character? Not from ſcripture, which is wholly ſilent about the matter. Not by ſucceſſion from the apoſtles, who claimed no ſuch power; as is unanſwerably proved in the *Independent Whig*, No. VI. and VII. Not from reaſon, the impoſſibility of it being there fully ſhewn in No. XV. And the wickedneſs of pretending to it being as fully ſhewn in No. XLVII. and XLVIII. Not from the laws of *England*, which oblige all clergymen to own, that they receive all juriſdiction and authority whatſoever from the crown, as is demonſtratively proved in No. XIII. and XIV. and in No. XLIX. and L. It is as undeniably proved there, by numerous texts, as well as by the whole bent of ſcripture, that no one Chriſtian has more power than another, to perform all the offices of Chriſtianity; that the Holy Ghoſt fell upon all believers alike, and that they had all the power of doing miracles, after they had received it: and I think it is as evident, that none of them have now the power of doing miracles, as this would be with a witneſs, if a few words pronounced, and a few motions performed, ſhould give to any one new qualities and faculties

which he had not before. I am ſure, if this be a miracle, it is an inviſible one, much like that of the popiſh tranſubſtantiation, where, though we are told, that the bread and wine are changed into fleſh and blood, yet to human eyes they appear to be bread and wine ſtill. We are ſo far from being told in holy writ, that elders, paſtors, and teachers (for all prieſthood is plainly aboliſhed by our Saviour in any other ſenſe than as all Chriſtians are prieſts) are always to chuſe one another; that even an apoſtle in the firſt of the *Acts* is choſen by the congregation, and by the caſting of lots.

But theſe gentlemen are ſometimes ſo modeſt, as to confeſs, that holy orders do really convey neither piety, morals, learning, nor encreaſe the natural faculties in any reſpect: I deſire therefore to know of them what they are good for, unleſs to declare, that ſuch a man has undertaken to execute an office, and that he has natural or acquired qualifications ſufficient to perform it? And this truſt is for the moſt part committed to clergymen, who are preſumed beſt to underſtand their own trade; and the ceremony which they uſe to ſignify that declaration, is laying on of hands, and a form of words preſcribed by act of parliament; which ceremony has obtained the name of conſecration and ordination. Now ſuppoſe that the law had appointed another form to be executed only by laymen, as by flouriſhing a ſword over his head, and by putting a cap and long gown upon him; would not the ſame man, with the ſame qualifications, be juſt as good a paſtor? Or ſuppoſe that the biſhop, who ordained him, through ſome miſtake, had not himſelf gone through all the operation, would the perſon ordained have been ever the worſe? There is no appearance that our modern operators have any diſcernment of ſpirits; if they had, I preſume that we ſhould not have had ſo many *Jacobites* in holy orders; and 'tis evident in fact, that whenever the pariſhes chuſe

their own parſons, they prove at leaſt as good ones as thoſe who are recommended to us by our ſpiritual fathers. 'Tis certain that our laws know nothing of this gibberiſh, but declare laymen capable of all ſorts of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and when the biſhops conſecrate one another, or ordain prieſts, they do it miniſterially from the crown, and formerly took out a commiſſion from the crown, to ordain preſbyters. Nay, the king now conſtitutes biſhops in *Ireland* by commiſſion; and they will be valid biſhops, and able to perform all epiſcopal offices, though they were never conſecrated. In *Scotland*, before the *revolution*, they were created by patent, and held their ſees only during the good pleaſure of the crown.

Now let us conſider what is the meaning of the word *Biſhop*, and wherein his office conſiſts. It is a power or juriſdiction given to do certain actions within a certain diſtrict, which diſtrict is limited by human laws; and he muſt not execute his power in any other biſhop's diſtrict, under the penalty of ſchiſm, and human puniſhment. Now what is this juriſdiction? It is a power to name a lay-chancellor if he pleaſes, who is to enquire after and puniſh certain carnal crimes, without conſulting or taking any notice of the biſhop himſelf, who conſtituted him; and excommunication is the legal proceſs which he is to uſe, and the puniſhment which he is to inflict. The biſhop has, moreover, a power to examine into the qualifications of thoſe who deſire to be admitted into orders, and to admit them, or reject them, as he finds them capable, or incapable; and after they are admitted, to inſpect into their behaviour, in ſome reſpects, and to puniſh them according to ſtated laws. Now what is this prieſtly office? It is to read prayers, appointed by act of parliament, publicly to the congregation; to read aloud certain chapters out of the bible, appointed by public authority to be read on

particular days; to pick out a text or two every *Sunday*, and harangue upon it to the people; to adminiſter the ſacraments by a form of words preſcribed by law, to viſit the ſick, exhort and rebuke, and to take the tythes. The biſhop beſides is to be a lord of parliament, to have one or more thouſands *per annum*, and to bleſs people when they are upon their knees.

Now what part of all this may not be as well executed, by what ceremony ſoever the perſon officiating be appointed, or if he be appointed without any ceremony at all? May not a biſhop conſtitute a lay-chancellor to hear ſmutty cauſes, and to excommunicate the guilty, till they buy themſelves out of purgatory again for a ſum of money? Cannot this layman equally enquire into the capacities of thoſe who are candidates for the prieſthood, as they call it, and deprive or otherwiſe puniſh them as the law directs? Might not he equally ſit in the houſe of lords, and vote for the juſt prerogative of the crown, and the good of the church; make the moſt of his revenues, (only for the ſake of his ſucceſſor,) and ſay, *God bleſs you* to any one who will aſk it upon his knees? Might not a private man, though a biſhop's hand had never touched his perriwig, read aloud the public prayers and the chapters for the day, when he can read at all, without any new inſpiration; talk half an hour or more about the meaning of a plain text; exhort his pariſhioners to be good churchmen; rail at and revile diſſenters; read the legal form of baptiſm, and ſprinkle an infant; carry about the bread and wine to the communicants; repeat the words appointed in the common-prayer book to be ſaid on that occaſion; gather his tythes very carefully, and put any one into the ſpiritual court that does not pay them?

Now, what is deprivation, but by public authority to hinder them from doing theſe things; that is,

to take away the power that it has given them? I think it is agreed by them all, that ſome of theſe powers may be taken away; namely, that of the biſhops being members of the upper houſe, with their baronies and revenues, their lordſhips, their dignities, their ſpiritual courts, their legal juriſdiction within their former diſtricts; but ſtill it ſeems they remain good biſhops of the univerſal church; which character is indelible, and can never be taken away. But what they mean by the univerſal church, I cannot gueſs, unleſs they mean all chriſtian countries, or all countries where there are Chriſtians; and then it ſeems that biſhops may ordain preſbyters, and biſhops and preſbyters both may preach and pray, give the ſacraments, and excommunicate, where-ever there are any Chriſtians; and if the words *Univerſal Church* will extend to thoſe who are no Chriſtians, then they may do theſe things through the whole world. But how will this agree with another orthodox opinion, holden I think by them all, that no biſhop can execute his office in another's dioceſe, and no prieſt in another's pariſh, againſt conſent, without being guilty of ſchiſm? And here almoſt all Chriſtendom is cut off from their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction at once, and a good part of *Turkey* too, the Chriſtians there having all biſhops (ſuch as they are:) ſo that they are reduced to execute this univerſal power only in *partibus infidelium*; and methinks, ſince ſovereign authority is every where the ſame, Mahometan or Pagan princes ſhould have as much power to hinder any one from conferring offices in his dominions, as Chriſtian princes have to confine him to a ſmall limit, and to hinder him every where elſe; for no more power is neceſſary to one than to the other.

But to ſhew that I am in charity with theſe gentlemen, and willing to agree with them as far as I can, I admit, that no government, either Chriſtian, Mahometan, or Pagan, has any authority to hinder a good

man from doing his duty to God; from ſaying his prayers, and reading the ſcriptures publicly; from exhorting his brethren, from giving or receiving the ſacraments, or from avoiding ill company; which laſt is all that is meant in ſcripture, by what we call excommunication: all which offices, or rather duties, every Chriſtian is empowered by the goſpel to execute. And as the clergy have been called upon oftner than once already, to ſhew from ſcripture, or reaſon, that theſe duties, or any of them, are appointed by God, to be performed by any ſet or order of men whatſoever, independent of other Chriſtians; ſo I call upon them again to ſhew it, and I expect that they will introduce plain and direct texts, or, at leaſt, as much evidence as they would pay five ſhillings upon on any other occaſion. And if they cannnot do this, as I ſhall preſume they cannot, till the contrary appears; then all this artificial cant muſt paſs for juggling, hypocriſy, and prieſtcraft.

If we will take ſome of their words for it, there are many things very ſtrange and extraordinary in this divine truſt. It may be given here below, but cannot be taken away again; for then it would not be indelible. It is a power to execute eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction or duty through the whole earth, yet may be confined to dioceſes, or pariſhes. No human authority can hinder thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it from executing it; yet their perſons may be impriſoned, or put to death, and ſo be wholly diſabled from executing it. They may be rendered incapable of performing it by diſeaſes, by drunkenneſs, gluttony, and lazineſs; but not by murder, robbery, treaſon, blaſphemy, or atheiſm. Non-execution, or wrong execution, is no forfeiture. It is the moſt tender and important of all truſts; yet no crimes, how heinous or black ſoever, will diſqualify a man from holding and executing it. Whoever has once got it, can never part with it, but carries it with him to the block and the gallows; but

whether it there leaves him, authors are ſilent, or uncertain.

It can be given by one of them to another only by the motion of the hand, but not by act of parliament, and the conſent of the ſtates of a great kingdom, though the head of the church be one of them; yet it muſt be given according to the command of that one, and by a form of words enacted by all three. Whoever has it, muſt have a call from the Holy Ghoſt, yet muſt be examined whether he have common natural qualifications. When he has heard this call, and his qualifications are found ſufficient, he need not execute what he is called to, but may hire another to do it for him; which other muſt not execute it neither, unleſs he has an human dioceſe, or an human pariſh, or is employed by thoſe who have.

Is not this pretty jargon, worthy to be made an article of faith? Though it has had the ill luck not to get in amongſt the reſt; and, what is worſe, ſome of the reſt directly contradict it.

The ſame inviſible faculty makes him, who is poſſeſſed of it, neither wiſer nor better; yet he is to be much more reſpected, and his authority to be much more regarded, provided he be zealous for the notions which are orthodox for the time being; otherwiſe you may abuſe him as much as you pleaſe, whether he be moſt reverend, right reverend, or only plain reverend; and you need not then have any reverence at all for him, though the indelible character ſtick juſt where it did before. You muſt know that this indelible character came down by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the apoſtles; but then it being wholly inviſible, and makeing no alteration in the outward or inward man, there is ſome difficulty, and we are often at a loſs to know who has it. The moſt common, outward and viſible ſigns are, a broad-brimmed hat, a long black gown, and a band; though others hold a cloak, with a cape to it, to be a better criterion. But what will become

of us, if ſome heretic ſhould have formerly uſurped theſe holy garments, without having paſſed through all the precedent ceremony and operation? What if he ſhould have happened to have conſecrated and ordained a great many others, ſuch as have continued the ſucceſſion? Then, alas! the whole chain of ſucceſſion may have been broken, never to be pieced again by human ſkill; and we can never know who amongſt us are regular Chriſtians, or in a regular way of ſalvation. Some are ſo wicked as to ſay, That this was the caſe of many of our proteſtant biſhops at the *reformation*. Which God forbid!

Nay, what is worſe, the orthodox differ amongſt themſelves about what requiſites are neceſſary to continue this line of ſucceſſion. Many have affirmed, That the Holy Ghoſt would not inhabit a heretic, a ſchiſmatic, a ſimoniac, or an atheiſt: and ſome have went ſo far, as to aſſert, That a Chriſtian biſhop ought to be a Chriſtian. Now it is certain, that there have been many biſhops and popes too, who did not believe one word about Jeſus Chriſt; and if this be a diſqualification, then the Lord have mercy upon thoſe who have pretended to receive orders from them, or under them, and upon thoſe who received the ſacraments only by ſucceſſion from ſuch.

Others have ventured to affirm, That no greater power was neceſſary to take away orders than to give them. If ſo, the Pope and church of *Rome* have taken away all our orders from us, and excommunicated us all to a man. Then too a queſtion will ariſe, Whether any one, who is wholly turned out of the church, can be a biſhop of the church? If not, all our bench of biſhops are gone at once: for we all know that the church of *Rome* is a true church; and if the clergy have any authority from ſcripture, all the eccleſiaſtical authority in the world was againſt the firſt reformers, and they were all excommunicated together. They had certainly no power to ſeparate them-

ſelves from the church of *Rome*, but what every man in the world ever had, has now, and ever will have, to ſeparate from any church which he thinks to be erroneous, and to diſown all eccleſiaſtical authority, which does not take its force from the laws of the country which he lives under; and then it is only civil authority. I deſire of the gentlemen, who have always ſhewn themſelves very happy at diſtinctions, to clear up thoſe matters to us, that we may know whether we be Chriſtians or not, and in the ordinary way of ſalvation.

G

I am, &c.

Saturday, July 13. 1723. N°. 136.

The Popiſh *hierarchy deduced in a great meaſure from that of the* Pagans.

SIR,

IN my laſt I endeavoured to give you a true anatomy of the *indelible character*, and of the *uninterrupted ſucceſſion*, from whence are derived moſt of the abſurdities of the *Romiſh* church, with all the ſpiritual equipage of their popes, patriarchs, archbiſhops, biſhops, pariſh-prieſts, *&c.* as well as all the powers claimed by them in the church. In this I ſhall give you their genealogy; as alſo the genealogy of their cathedrals, their altars, their lighted candles upon them at noon day; their worſhipping God towards the eaſt; and a great deal more of their religious trumpery. I cannot, after the moſt diligent enquiry, find out the leaſt countenance for moſt, if any, of theſe fine things, in the Chriſtian religion, and the *Jewiſh*

is long ſince aboliſhed. Our Saviour plainly intended to reduce men to natural religion, which was corrupted and defaced by the numerous ſuperſtitions of the *Jews*, and by the abſurd idolatries of the *Gentiles*. The doctrine which he taught, conſiſted only in worſhipping one God, and in doing good to men; and therefore he inſtituted a religion without prieſts, ſacrifices, and ceremonies; a religion, which was to reſide in the heart, to conſiſt in ſpirit, and in truth; and to ſhew itſelf outwardly in virtuous actions: but ſuch a religion would not gratify the ambition and pride of thoſe who deſired to domineer over their brethren, and to acquire from their ignorance and fears, riches and authority.

As therefore the *Jewiſh* prieſts had, by their traditions, and their fabulous legends, corrupted the law of *Moſes*; ſo the Chriſtian clergy did by degrees blend the goſpel, and the plain and eaſy precepts of Chriſtianity, with the moſt abſurd parts of the *Jewiſh* traditions, and with the ridiculous foppery of the religion of the *Gentiles*; inſomuch, that at the *reformation* there was not left in the world any thing that looked like Chriſtianity. The pope and his prieſts had picked out from all other ſuperſtitions their moſt abſurd, cruel, and wicked parts and principles; and having incorporated the ſame with peculiar abſurdities of their own, made out of all ſuch a wild jumble of nonſenſe and impieties, as has driven virtue, good government, and humanity, almoſt out of the world; given riſe to *Mahometaniſm*; and both together have almoſt extinguiſhed the human race; ſince there is not in thoſe countries, where theſe religions entirely prevail, the tenth part of the people that they could boaſt in the times of the old *Romans*, nor in proportion to the numbers which *China* and *Holland* can now boaſt; where the prieſts have no power, and but little influence.

It would be endleſs to trace all the numerous abſurdities of the *Romiſh* church, and to ſearch the ſources from whence they are all taken and ſtolen. I ſhall content myſelf here, to ſhew, that their whole machinery is copied from the religion of *Zoroaſter* and the *Perſian Magi*; and ſhall quote no other authority than the excellent and learned Dr. *Prideaux*, but give an account of that impoſtor and his *Magi*, altogether in the doctor's own words.

He tells us, That *Zoroaſter* flouriſhed in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, (though others ſay, very long before, as he ſays, the *Magi* did, who, without doubt, held many of the ſame opinions, he having only revived their ſect with ſome alterations:) and he taught, that there was one ſupreme being, independent and ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity: that under Him there were two angels; one the angel of light, and the author and director of all good; the other the angel of darkneſs, the author and director of all evil; that this ſtruggle ſhould continue to the end of the world, and then there ſhould be a general reſurrection, and a day of judgment, wherein juſt retribution ſhould be rendered to all, according to their works; and the angel of darkneſs and his diſciples ſhould go into a world of their own, where they ſhould ſuffer in everlaſting darkneſs the puniſhment of their ill deeds; and the angel of light and his diſciples ſhould go into a world of their own, and receive in everlaſting light, the rewards due to their good deeds.

This impoſtor pretended to have been taken up to heaven, and there to have heard God ſpeak to him out of the midſt of the fire; and therefore he ordered fire-temples to be built, and erected altars in them, upon which ſacred fires were kept and preſerved, without being ſuffered to go out; and all the parts of their public worſhip were performed before theſe public ſacred fires, as all their private devotions were

before private fires in their own houſes: not that they worſhipped the fire, but God in the fire; for God having ſpoken out of the fire, he ſaid, That it was the ſureſt *Shechinah* of the divine preſence; That the ſun being the perfecteſt fire that God had made, there was the throne of His glory, and the evidence of His divine preſence, in a more eſpecial manner than any where elſe; for which reaſon he ordered them to direct all their worſhip towards the ſun, and next towards their ſacred fires; and therefore, they always approached them from the weſt ſide; that having their faces towards them, and alſo towards the riſing ſun at the ſame time, they might direct their worſhip towards both; for the *Kebla* of the *Magians* being the riſing ſun, they always worſhipped with their faces towards the eaſt.

To gain the greater reputation to his pretenſions, he retired to a cave, and there lived a recluſe, pretending to be abſtracted from all worldly conſiderations, and to be wholly given up to prayer, and divine meditations. Whilſt he was in this retirement, he compoſed the book wherein his pretended revelations are contained; which conſiſted of twelve volumes. The firſt contains the liturgy of the *Magi*, and the reſt treat of the other parts of their religion. In this book he commands the ſame obſervances about beaſts, clean and unclean, which *Moſes* commands; gives the ſame law of paying tythes to the ſacerdotal order; enjoins the ſame care of avoiding all external and internal pollutions; the ſame way of cleanſing and purifying themſelves by frequent waſhings; the ſame keeping the prieſthood always within one tribe; and ſeveral other inſtitutions are alſo therein contained, of the ſame *Jewiſh* extraction. The reſt of its contents are an hiſtorical account of the life, actions, and prophecies of its author; the ſeveral branches and particulars of his new reformed ſuperſtition; and rules and exhortations to holy living; in which he is

very preſſing, and ſufficiently exact, ſaving only in one particular, which is about inceſt, which (the doctor ſuppoſes) is allowed by him out of flattery to the *Perſian* kings, who were exceedingly given to inceſtuous marriages. This book he pretends to have received from heaven; and according as the actions of his ſect agree or diſagree with it, they are eſteemed either good or evil.

His prieſts, as is ſaid, are to be all of one tribe, and none but the ſon of a prieſt was capable of being a prieſt; and his prieſthood he divided into three tribes. The loweſt were the inferior clergy, who ſerved in all the common offices of their divine worſhip. Next above theſe were the ſuperintendents, who in their ſeveral diſtricts governed the inferior clergy, as the biſhops do amongſt us; and above all was the *Archimagus*, or arch-prieſt, who was the ſame as the high-prieſt amongſt the *Jews*, or the pope now amongſt the *Romaniſts*, and is the head of the whole religion: and, according to the number of their orders, the temples and churches in which they officiated, were of three ſorts. The loweſt ſort, were their parochial churches, or oratories, which were ſerved by their inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us; and the duties which they there performed, were to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and at ſtated and ſolemn times to read ſome part of their ſacred writings to the people. In theſe churches there were no fire-altars; but the ſacred fire before which they worſhipped, was maintained only with a lamp. Next above theſe were the fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a ſacred altar; and theſe were in the ſame manner as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the ſuperintendent reſided. In every one of theſe were alſo ſeveral of the inferior clergy entertained, who, in the ſame manner as the choral vicars with

us, performed all the divine offices under the ſuperintendent, and alſo took care of the ſacred fire, *&c.*

The higheſt church above all, was the fire-temple, where the *Archimagus* reſided, which was had in the ſame veneration with them, as the temple of *Mecca* amongſt the *Mahometans*, to which every one of that ſect thought themſelves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. *Zoroaſter* ſettled it at *Balch*, and he and the *Archimagus* his ſucceſſors had their reſidence there; but afterwards it was removed to *Herman*. This temple of the *Archimagus*, as alſo their other fire-temples, were endowed with large revenues in lands; but the parochial clergy depended only upon the tythes and offerings of the people. The doctor obſerves afterwards, That this impoſtor having wonderful ſucceſs in cauſing his impoſture to be received by the king, the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, he returned to *Balch*; where, according to his inſtitution, he was obliged to have his reſidence, as *Archimagus*, or head of the ſect; and there he reigned with the ſame authority in ſpirituals over the whole empire, as the the king did in temporals.

The doctor obſerves, and perhaps with truth, That *Zoroaſter* borrowed a great part of his new religion from the *Jews*, eſpecially if he lived ſo late as he ſuppoſes him to have done, with ſome appearance of reaſon. But if the impoſtor took his doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and of rewards and puniſhments from them too, (which he alſo ſuppoſes,) it muſt have been from the *Eſſenes*, a ſect among the *Jews*, not exceeding four thouſand: for I cannot find any mention made of that doctrine in the books of *Moſes*, which contain their laws, and promiſe only temporal bleſſings and puniſhments: and the doctor himſelf, in another place, tells us, That the *Sadducees*, who were the gentlemen, and men of learning among them, did wholly diſbelieve the reſurrection,

future rewards and puniſhments, angels and ſpirits, and rejected all the ſcriptures but the law; and that the *Phariſees*, though they believed the reſurrection, yet only thought it a *Pythagorean* reſurrection, or tranſmigration of the ſame ſoul into another body: and I think it is plain from the new teſtament, that the full revealing of this truth was reſerved to our bleſſed Savour, who brought life and immortality to light: though it is undoubtedly true, that ſome of the *Jews* held it as a philoſophical opinion, probably taken from the nations whom they converſed with: But it does not appear to me, that *Moſes* eſtabliſhed it as a ſanction to the religion which he revealed, or that it was any part of the *Jewiſh* religion to believe it.

But admitting that *Zoroaſter* took the beſt parts of his religion from the *Jews*, I think it is much plainer that the *Romaniſts* have taken the worſt parts of theirs from him; or elſe they have very luckily or unluckily jumped in the ſame thoughts. Their *Archimagus*, high-prieſt, or pope, they can have no where elſe, unleſs they borrowed him from the *Jews*, which would be extremely impudent, ſince the Chriſtian religion is built upon the ruins of theirs. Their ſuperintendents, whom they call archbiſhops and biſhops, and their parochial prieſts, whom they do not borrow from the *Jews*, and who, they ſay, are not derived from human inſtitution, cannot be derived, in my opinion, from any other ſource than that of *Zoroaſter*. Where elſe do they find the diviſion of their prieſts into ſeveral orders, which exactly reſemble his, namely, the lower order in parochial temples, to read offices out of their liturgies, or maſs-books, and portions of their ſacred writings at appointed times? For the *Jews* had not that œconomy, nor indeed any ſynagogue-worſhip, till long after *Zoroaſter*'s time. Where elſe do they find cathedrals with altars in them, and lighted candles upon theſe altars, in imi-

tation of the ſacred fire of the *Magi*; and theſe altars ſtanding to the eaſt, and the worſhip in them performed with the face towards it? Where elſe the many inferior prieſts officiating in ſuch temples, ſubordinate to the ſuperintendent, and in eaſe to him? And where elſe the endowing theſe temples with lands and revenues?

Where do they find their *uninterrupted ſucceſſion*, &c. and in conſequence their *indelible character*, but in the ſucceſſion of *Zoroaſter*'s prieſts in one tribe only, who without doubt were all holy, had all a divine right, were particularly favourites of the divine being, and cloathed with peculiar powers and diſpenſations? Where had they the abſurd and blaſphemous opinion of God's being more immediately at the altar, or in the eaſt, than in any other place; unleſs from the notion and dreams of the *Magi*, that the divine preſence was in an eſpecial manner in the ſun, or in the fire? Where do they find that the deity is pleaſed with mens retiring into caves, corners, and monaſteries; with their neglecting the affairs of the world, and of their families; with their being uſeleſs to ſociety; and with their indulging meditation and the ſpleen; but in the example and authority of *Zoroaſter?* Where do they find any command for wild jaunts in pilgrimage to the holy land, and for idle and enthuſiaſtic devotions to ſhrines, altars, and chapels, unleſs in the injunctions of this impoſtor to all his votaries to viſit the temple of *Balch?* And where elſe did they adopt the abſurd, monſtrous, and wicked hypotheſis, of the church's having a different head from the ſtate, and of the independence of the prieſts upon the civil power?

Moſt of theſe opinions and practices are parts of the religion of the ancient *Magi*; and from thence it is reaſonable to preſume that the *Romiſh* prieſts have copied them, unleſs they can ſhew where elſe they had them. They cannot, with the appearance of com-

mon ſenſe, be deduced from the new teſtament; and the *Jewiſh* religion has been long ſince aboliſhed. They have therefore the honour of having reſtored the old ſuperſtition of the *Magi*, with this material difference, That the latter had more learning, and much more integrity; that they did not do, by the hundredth part, ſo much miſchief; and treated with more humanity thoſe who differed from them.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, July 20. 1723. N°. 137.

Of the different and abſurd notions which men entertain of GOD.

SIR,

IN my paper, which treats about the uſe of words, I have promiſed to ſhew how abſurd and impious it is for men to fall together by the ears, on account of their difference in trifles, when they ſcarce agree in any one thing in the world, not even in the attributes annexed to the object of all worſhip, though they know nothing of him but from his attributes. I will now perform that promiſe.

There is no propoſition about which mankind have agreed and diſagreed ſo much, as about the meaning of the word *God*. I think, very few inſtances excepted, they have all agreed that there is ſuch a being; and yet I apprehend, that no two nations, two ſects, or ſcarce two men of the ſame ſect, have eſſentially agreed in all the ideas which they have annexed to the ſound. All have aſſerted, That he has exiſted from all eternity, and muſt for ever exiſt; and that

he has made or produced every thing elſe: and thus far Heathens and Jews, Mahometans and Chriſtians, Proteſtants and Papiſts, Deiſts and Free-thinkers, Materialiſts and Immaterialiſts, Stoicks, Peripatetics and Epicureans, are all orthodox; for the laſt could not have doubted but ſome being muſt have exiſted before the fortuitous concourſe of atoms; and in this ſenſe there are very few, if there be one Atheiſt, in the world. But when they go farther, and explain what they mean by the ſound, I doubt moſt, or many of them, are Athieſts to one another, as not believing in the being which the one and the other call God.

All the differences amongſt mankind, as to their belief of the Deity, are owing to their different conceptions of him; as they diſagree in his attributes, in the modes of his operations, and worſhip him under various images and repreſentations. As to his ſubſtance, eſſence, the manner or *ſenſorium* of his exiſtence, we neither know nor can know any thing, nor can have any conception about it, and conſequently can believe nothing concerning it; and therefore all that we can believe (beſides what I above ſaid every man agrees in) is concerning his attributes, and the *modus* wherein he has communicated or repreſented himſelf to us: that is, we can only believe in the ideas which we have annexed in our minds to the word God; and if we annex different images to the word, we are of a different religion, or rather are Atheiſts to one another, though we call the object of all our worſhip by the ſame name. For ſince, as I have ſaid, we can only worſhip our own conceptions or images of the Deity, or (by new placing the words) the Deity under our conceptions and images, if thoſe images be falſe, we worſhip only an idol of our own imaginations, and pay divine homage to nothing. For, what is the difference to us in ſaying that another man believes in nothing, or believes in what we know to

be nothing, which equally is Atheiſm. From hence, I think, it appears, that no man has a right to call another atheiſt, in any other ſenſe, than as I ſhall make appear, that moſt men have a right to call thoſe who differ from themſelves, in their conception of the Deity, Atheiſts.

Now, to begin with the Heathens, who worſhipped *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, &c. which were only bare ſounds and non-entities: their paying divine honours to nothing, was worſhipping nothing: and believing in nothing, is the ſame thing in ſubſtance as having no belief. And therefore they were certainly Atheiſts, though they did not know themſelves to be ſo. For what is Atheiſm, but not believing in a God? And can any man be ſaid to believe in a God, whoſe whole belief is in an imaginary being that is not God; though I confeſs ſuch a fancied belief may influence his actions, and anſwer many of the purpoſes of ſociety? It was the ſame thing when they believed in real beings, as images, ſtocks, ſtones, monkeys, garlic, *&c.* for they worſhipped them for powers which they ſuppoſed were in them, but which were not in them; and ſo worſhipped thoſe ſuppoſed powers, and conſequently worſhipped nothing, and believed in nothing which was God; and conſequently were Atheiſts in fact, though devout religioniſts in ſhew, and in their own opinion too.

But without annihilating the Heathen deities, the Stoics and Epicureans (who differed much in the ſame manner as ſome of the Deiſts and orthodox do amongſt us) were Atheiſts to one another, as not believing in the attributes that each annexed to their different divinities. The Stoics annexed the attributes of wiſdom, mercy, and juſtice, to the being of the Deity; who was ſuppoſed by them to diſpenſe thoſe attributes occaſionally to the actions and neceſſities of men. The Epicureans thought the Deity to be ſufficient in his own felicity; and that he did not

concern himſelf with our affairs here below; but that all things depended upon fate, and an eternal cauſe, which controuled and was ſuperior to even *Jupiter* himſelf; which fate muſt have been their eternal God, which produced all things at firſt.

They had no notion of what was meant by *wiſe*, *merciful*, and *juſt*, when applied to the Deity; and thought that theſe could not be analogous to what was meant by the ſame qualities in men: for they ſaid, That wiſdom in men, was only balancing the motives of doing or not doing an action, and chuſing which was beſt; which wiſdom was a knowledge acquired by habit and experience, and by obſerving the relations of things to one another, and conveyed to them through the organs of ſenſe: but they ſaid, That the Deity had no organs, but ſaw all things intuitively from all eternity, and could not err. So they ſaid, That mercy in men was a paſſion cauſed by the feeling or apprehenſion of the ſufferings of others: but they believed that the Divinity could have no paſſions, becauſe no agent could operate upon him, he himſelf being eternal, and before all things, and producing all things; nor could ſuffer temporary anguiſh and uneaſineſs, always produced by compaſſion. In like manner, they ſaid, that juſtice was an adherence to certain rules, dictated by ſuperior powers, or agreed upon by men for their mutual convenience; but no rules could be ſet to the divinity, who the Stoics confeſſed had made every thing, and had a right to do what he pleaſed with his own creatures. He that made the relation of all things, might altar that relation, and diſpenſe with his own laws, when and how he thought fit.

They therefore ſaid, that when thoſe attributes were applied to the Deity, nothing could be meant by them, but to expreſs our reverence for him, our admiration of his power, and to ſacrifice to him our beſt conceptions; not that we pretend to define his

eſſence, nor the *modus* of his actions, which are wholly incomprehenſible to us. They concluded that he that had done all things could do all things; but did not pretend to know how he did them; but thought themſelves very ſure that he did not do them as we do, by weighing the difficulties on each ſide the queſtion, becauſe nothing could be difficult to him; nor could he deliberate, becauſe deliberation would imply doubt; and the Deity could not doubt, being neceſſitated by the excellency of his nature always to do the beſt.

They thought, that a being that could never have any cauſe before it, nor without it, nor after it, but what it produced, nor any objects to work upon it, muſt have been always uniform and entire; that is, its attributes, its will, and its actions, muſt have been one with its eſſence. It muſt have been conſtantly moving, or acting, or, as late divines very elegantly expreſs themſelves, eternally proceeding. For there could be no beginning of action, without being at reſt before; and then they ſaid that it muſt have been from all eternity at reſt, as finding it difficult to conceive, that a being that had ſelf-motion ſhould never have exerted that principle till a particular period of time, and in a particular portion of ſpace, when eternity and infinity (its inſeparable attributes) can have no periods and limits; nor can any intervals of time and ſpace meaſure ſuch a being.

Hence philoſophers have called eternity a *nunc ſtans*, or an inſtant, or punctum, which cannot be divided even in imagination; and though they could not convey any diſtinct images by that way of ſpeaking, yet they found themſelves reduced to it, from the difficulties which would ariſe in dividing the operations of a being in all reſpects indiviſible. Now, can any one ſay that theſe ſects believe in God? Certainly the object of the belief of one of them was not God, but

only an idol of their own brains, and conſequently that ſect believed in nothing, and were Atheiſts.

The ſame obſervations run through the different ſects of religioniſts in the world, and great numbers of particular men in every ſect of religion. Some repreſent the Deity as a capricious, angry, revengeful being, fond of commendation and flattery, preſcribing and dictating partial rules to his creatures, laying uſeleſs burdens upon them, and making their future happineſs to depend upon the actions of others, and upon ſuch performances, or believing ſuch ſpeculations, as are out of their power. Others think that the Deity has ſatiety of happineſs within itſelf, and muſt be incapable of any paſſions to interrupt that happineſs; and therefore, as we cannot do good or harm to him, the only way to recommend ourſelves to him, is to do good to one another. Theſe cannot apprehend, that any man's future felicity lies in another's power; or, that uſeleſs ſpeculations or actions, as bows, cringes, forms, grimaces, rotes of words, or any thing but a good conſcience, and a virtuous life, can make us acceptable to the Deity. Now 'tis certain that there are great numbers of men in the world of both theſe opinions, and they undoubtedly do not believe in the ſame being; but ſome of them believe in a non-entity, and conſequently are Atheiſts.

If this argument were to be traced through all its ſub-diviſions, it would fill a volume inſtead of a ſingle paper; and therefore I ſhall tire you no farther upon the ſubject; my deſign in entering upon it being to warn my countrymen how cautious they ought to be in calling odious names, which may with equal juſtice be retorted upon themſelves. Let us therefore leave ſuch appellations to thoſe who ſcold for hire; and reſt fully aſſured, that as moſt certainly there is a God, ſo he is the beſt being in the univerſe; that he expects no more from us than he has given us

means to perform; that when we have done all in our power to pleaſe him, we ſhall pleaſe him, however, or how much ſoever, we miſtake his being or attributes; and then it will be of very little conſequence whom elſe we diſpleaſe.

T

I am, &c.

Saturday, July 27. 1723. N°. 138.

CATO's *farewell.*

SIR,

AS I have with a ſucceſs which no man has yet met with (if I regard the number of my readers, and the ſale of theſe papers) carried on a weekly performance, under this and another title §, for near four years; in doing which, it was impoſſible that I could have any other view but the good of my country and of mankind; by ſhewing them the advantage and the beauty of civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty, and the odious deformity of prieſtcraft and tyranny: as I have vindicated almighty God, and the religion which he has taught us, from the ſuperſtitions, follies, and wickedneſs of men, who would proſtitute it to ambition and avarice, and build a viſionary empire upon the plain and ſimple precepts of Chriſtianity; and have endeavoured to remove all the rubbiſh, grimace, and pageantry, with which it has been long ſtifled and oppreſſed, by ſhewing to the world, and I think proving, that true piety conſiſts only in honouring the Deity, and in doing good to men, and

§ *The Independent Whig.*

not in poſtures, cringes, and canting terms, and in barren and uſeleſs ſpeculations; as I think I have unanſwerably ſhewn, that civil governments were inſtituted by men, and for the ſake of men, and not for the pride and luſt of governors; and conſequently, that men have a right to expect from them protection and liberty, and to oppoſe rapine and tyranny wherever they are exerciſed; and have thereby vindicated our preſent eſtabliſhment, which can pretend to no other title:

As I have done all this openly, and in the face of the world, and have defied and called upon all the mercileſs and deteſtable advocates for ſuperſtition and ſlavery, to ſhew that I have tranſgreſſed the rules of morality or religion, or the peace and happineſs of ſociety in any reſpect; and no one has yet dared to enter the liſts againſt me; from whence I may reaſonably hope that I have removed many of the prejudices imbibed by education and cuſtom, and ſet many of my countrymen free from the wild, wicked, and ſervile notions, ſtrongly infuſed and planted in their minds by craft and deluſion: —— I ſhall now with cheerfulneſs lay down this paper, which I am well informed will be continued by an able hand, under another name, and upon various ſubjects; and it is probable that I may ſo far join in the undertaking, as to give my aſſiſtance now and then when proper occaſions require it; at leaſt, I have not determined not to do ſo.

There are ſome papers, eſpecially thoſe ſigned *Diogenes*, which have given an undeſigned offence to ſome, whoſe perſons I honour, and whoſe opinions I reverence. For I have no regard to the perſons, and narrow notions of bigots, who will renounce any opinion as ſoon as it appears to be rational, and would rather make nonſenſe of it, than not make it a myſtery. It is a principle become conſtitutional to me, that God gave us our underſtandings to

uſe them, and that we cannot offend him in carrying them as far as they will carry us. However, as the principal queſtion handled in thoſe papers is a matter of mere ſpeculation, underſtood but by few, and to be underſtood but by few, the belief or diſbelief of it can no way affect human ſociety; and whether it be true or not, the actions of men will be the ſame, and men will be alike actuated by the motives that operate upon them, and equally purſue what they take to be their advantage upon the whole, at the time, and in the circumſtances which they are then in, whether they be obliged to do ſo, or chuſe to do ſo without being neceſſitated to that choice.

What led me into this thought, is the obſervation which runs almoſt through the world, that the bulk of mankind, in all ages, and in all countries, are violently attached to the opinions, cuſtoms, and even habits, which they have been uſed to; that ſounds, ſhews, prejudices, vain and idle terrors, phantoms, deluſions, and ſometimes diet and phyſic, are more prevalent with them, and operate more upon them than true and ſtrong reaſons; and that all animals of the ſame ſpecies act in the ſame manner, and have the the ſame paſſions, ſenſations and affections, with very little alterations: all which I could not account for, but by ſuppoſing thoſe operations to be mechanical, and the reſults of their ſeveral conſtitutions, as they were altered and modified by habit, and by different occaſions or motives of making uſe of them, or ſuch as acted upon them.

For the reſt, I ſaw, with a ſenſible concern, the many miſchiefs, which the leaders and deceivers of parties and factions in religion did to the world, by throwing God's judgments at one another, and impiouſly confining his providence and mercies to themſelves; and by applying the common phænomena and events of nature to their own advantage, and interpreting the ſame as denunciations of his wrath againſt

their enemies; by which unhallowed preſumption they have raiſed up and inflamed implacable hatred, animoſities and uncharitableneſs amongſt men of the ſame nation, who are all brethren. I have therefore ſhewn, that the Almighty diſpenſes his favours to all his creatures; that his ſun ſhines upon the juſt and the unjuſt; and that it is the higheſt and moſt daring boldneſs in any ſort of men to ſearch into, and to pretend to unriddle the ſecret diſpenſations of his providence; to know his mind before he unfolds it; to throw about ſuch balls of contention and wrath; and to make the condition of men already too miſerable by the lot of nature, ſtill more miſerable.

I ſaw the many evils and barbarous conſequences ariſing from the idle and fooliſh ſtories of witches, ſpirits and apparitions, firſt infuſed into our tender minds by nurſes, chamber-maids, and old women, and afterwards continued and improved by tutors and prieſts; which impreſſions and ſtories the wiſeſt and braveſt men often carry about them to their graves, and which make them always uneaſy till they go thither; inſomuch, that numbers of people dare not be alone, nor go about their neceſſary affairs in the night time; but are kept in conſtant dread of phantoms and non-entities; and multitudes of innocents have been murdered under the appearance of juſtice upon ſatan's confederates. I have therefore ſhewn, that there is no foundation in nature, in reaſon or in religion, for theſe fairy tales; that they are inconſiſtent with the mercies, and even with the being, of the great and good God; and that the telling or believing theſe tales, is endeavouring to give an empire to the devil at the expence of the Almighty.

It is certain, that the capacities of men would carry them much farther than they are ſuffered to go, if they were not cramped by cuſtom and narrow education, and by narrow principles taken from thoſe who deſign and derive advantages from this their igno-

rance. I have therefore lamented to ſee men of large and extenſive genius, ſuch as ſeemed deſigned by nature to carry human knowledge many degrees farther than it has yet gone, ſeemed deſigned to manumit their country and mankind from the ſervile and wicked notions infuſed into them by prating pedants, and babling impoſtors: I ſay, I have lamented to ſee ſuch extenſive capacities employed and converſant only about whims, idle ſpeculations, empty notions, fairy-dreams, and party diſtinctions, all tending to contract and imbitter the mind, to ſtifle and oppreſs the faculties, and to render men dupes and machines to the ambition, pride, and avarice, of ſelfiſh and haughty eccleſiaſtics, or of corrupt ſtateſmen. Nor can I ſee how this great evil can ever be cured, till we change the education of our youth; and let gentlemen be bred by gentlemen, and not by monks and pedants; whom yet I would ſuffer to dream on with their bellies full of college-ale, and their heads full of college-diſtinctions; but think that they ought not to be truſted with the education of our nobility and gentry, till they have ſome themſelves.

And now I beg leave again to repeat, that it was impoſſible I could engage in this undertaking ſo troubleſome to myſelf, and I hope of ſome benefit to my countrymen, with any view to my own perſonal advantage. I hope that no one will think ſo meanly of my underſtanding, to believe that I intended to make my court to any of the powers of this world, by attacking vice, corruption and folly whereſoever and in whomſoever they were found. I knew that I was to walk over burning plough ſhares; that I muſt provoke numerous and powerful ſocieties and parties; that I muſt diſturb neſts of hornets, and ſometimes venture too near the lion's den, and perhaps within the reach of *Jove*'s thunder; that men in poſſeſſion of reverence would not bear being told, that they did not deſerve it; that thoſe who rioted in power, and

upon the public misfortune, would very unwillingly hear that they were truſted with that power for the public advantage, and not for their own; that they were obliged by all the motives of honour, virtue, and religion, to ſerve and protect the people out of whoſe induſtry and wealth they were ſo highly rewarded; and that they deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhment, if they did otherwiſe. I had all this before my eyes: but armed with innocence, and animated by love to God and mankind, I reſolved to brave the danger, in defiance of the worſt that could happen to myſelf, in the ſervice of my country; and I have braved it. I have now the pleaſure to ſee great numbers of my fellow-ſubjects approve my endeavours, and embrace my opinions. I therefore here lay down this paper, and with it the moſt virtuous and noble ſubject that can employ the human ſoul; the ſubject of religion and government.

I am, &c.

CATO.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

AFter Mr. TRENCHARD *and I had agreed to conclude* CATO's *LETTERS, we likewiſe agreed to publiſh occaſional papers upon ſuch ſubjects of moment as occurred to us. But as he was not long after ſeized with the diſtemper that ſoon bereft the public of his valuable life, the purſuit of that deſign was left altogether to me; and I continued to publiſh from time to time ſeveral papers upon religi-*

ous ſubjects, and a few upon political ſubjects. The latter, ſix in number, are therefore ſubjoined to this edition of CATO'S LETTERS, *as naturally belonging to that collection. The former, which are a much greater number, upon the ſubject of religion and controverſy, I intend to throw together as a third volume of* The INDEPENDENT WHIG, *ſince they treat of the like matters.*

BRITISH MUSEUM 11 NO 85

T. Gordon.

AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Additional LETTERS

By *CATO*.

Saturday, Auguſt 24. 1723. N°. 1.

That ambitious princes rule and conquer only for their own ſakes; illuſtrated in a dialogue between Alexander *the Great and a* Perſian.

SIR,

MAN is more ſelfiſh than all other creatures; as habit, or imagination, has made more things neceſſary to his pleaſure and convenience than other animals want for theirs. Luſt and hunger are their only appetites; further than theſe prompt them, they commit no ravages, and they have the plea of neceſſity for the evils which they do. None of them invade countries for the vanity of a title; nor enſlave,

plunder, and burn, out of pride. They have no avarice; they do not ſtarve millions to ſurfeit one, or a few. They have no ambition; they do not deſtroy for glory. To the diſgrace of humanity, and the misfortune of the world, all theſe miſchiefs and abominations come from the impulſe of human paſſions, from a ravenouſneſs and ferocity, worthy only of wild beaſts, but practiſed by men with much more extenſive and ſucceſsful cruelty. The falſe refinements of reaſon have taught them to make the earth a wilderneſs, or a ſhambles; and to commit oppreſſions and butcheries, which true reaſon abhors.

Men are ſo conceited, that they think they deſerve every thing they want, and may do every thing to procure it; and nothing but fear reſtrains man from dealing with man as nations deal with nations, that is, from devouring one another. There is not a city or country in the world, but, were it let alone, would ſwallow up all the reſt; and cities and countries are compounded of men, and governed by them. And, as every nation is in its own conceit better than another, almoſt every man in every nation is in his own opinion better than all the reſt. Some may aſk, Whether a poor labourer in a ditch fancies himſelf as good a man as the lord of the ſoil? I anſwer, Try him: offer him the manor, and then ſee whether, from a mean opinion of his merit, he rejects the offer. Who is it that refuſes or reſigns greatneſs, from the inaptneſs of his talents to ſuſtain it? Titles and honours are only due to merit; but who denies them from a ſenſe of the want of it? On the contrary, are not the weakeſt and moſt worthleſs men the eaſieſt puffed up with the vanity of a gay name; which is ſo far from giving them any intrinſic advantages, that it really expoſes their defects? And do they not make one acquiſition, which they merited not, a ground and reaſon for expecting and demanding, perhaps for extort-

ing, others, which they merit as little? Great men are ſometimes ſupplanted and undone by their creatures; and princes have had the crown taken from their head, and with it their life, by ſuch as they had raiſed from the duſt.

Leave men to take the full reward of their fancied merit, and the world will be thought too little for almoſt every individual, as *Alexander* thought it for him. He had the fortune to ravage the world, and from thence believed he had a right to it. *Omnia vult, qui omnia poteſt.* Men thus let looſe, do no more miſchief than they can, nor leſs. The world is therefore a foot-ball; a great ſcene of contention, revolutions, and miſery: it is full of *Alexanders.*

For the better illuſtration of this ſubject, I will here ſubjoin a dialogue between *Alexander* the Great and a *Perſian.*

Alex. I Find you a man of underſtanding; and you ſhall ſay with ſecurity what you pleaſe: but ſure you muſt acknowledge that I have acquired everlaſting glory in conquering this great empire.

Perſ. You have done many horrible things for this glory; made havoc of mankind, all *Aſia* a ſcene of blood, and the world a theatre of ſorrow and violence, to gain it.

Alex. Is not glory thus gained?

Perſ More is the ſhame and the pity, that ſo wicked a thing ſhould have ſo fine a name. If you had ſaved us from all the evils that you have done us, I ſhould have called it glory.

Alex. Great actions are glorious, let the conſequences be good or bad.

Perſ. Then I perceive there is no difference between good and bad actions; at leaſt great miſchief is as good and as glorious for your purpoſe as great good.

Alex. For the miſchiefs that you have ſuffered, your king muſt anſwer: he drew the war upon you.

Perſ. How ſo?

Alex. Xerxes, one of his predeceſſors, invaded *Greece*.

Perſ. If he did it wantonly, he did wrong, and ſacrificed many lives to his pride: but I thought all this had been glory, becauſe you ſeek glory the ſame way.

Alex. No, I revenge *Greece* upon *Perſia*.

Perſ. So he did *Perſia* upon *Greece*, though with leſs advantage to himſelf, and leſs detriment to the *Grecians*. Beſides, he is dead, and it is unjuſt to puniſh thoſe who hurt you not, for thoſe who hurt your anceſtors a great while ago.

Alex. Greece and *Perſia* ſtill ſubſiſt.

Perſ. They are ſtill called *Perſia* and *Greece*; but the men of whom you complain no longer ſubſiſt.

Alex. Darius, your preſent emperor, whom I have ſo often beaten, ſtill lives, and he oppreſſed the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*.

Perſ. So he did the *Perſian* cities, and his whole empire; or his governors did it for him. Now if you had come and relieved us, and gone back again, I ſhould not differ with you about the notions of glory: but to invade us, and make us the plunder of armies for another man's crimes, which we condemn, and could not help, is no glory to us.

Alex. I meant his ſubjects no harm,

Perſ. But you have done it as effectually as if you had.

Alex. I could not come at him, without killing his ſoldiers, and ſubduing his people.

Perſ. Then you ſhould have let him alone, at leaſt till he had moleſted you.

Alex. He did; he enthralled my brethren the *Aſiatic Greeks*; which I could not brook.

Perſ. Give me leave to ſay, you have enthralled *Greece* itſelf, and *Aſia*, and the world. How comes thraldom from *Alexander* to be better than thraldom from *Darius?* or why ſhould it be better brooked?

Alex. I ſee you are no politician: you do not conſider, that when I was about to invade *Aſia*, it would have been madneſs to have left *Greece* unſubdued behind me.

Perſ. The great *Mithra* ſhining yonder over our heads, and witneſſing our actions, preſerve all ſober men from madneſs; and, for the peace of mankind, reſtore all madmen to their ſenſes! And ſo, to revenge *Greece* upon *Aſia*, which a hundred years before would have ſubdued *Greece*, you ſubdued *Greece* yourſelf, in order to ſubdue us harmleſs *Aſiatics*, who never ſaw any of your faces, till you came ſword in hand to kill and oppreſs us for glory. You have arrived at that glory: and now I hope you will leave us, and return home.

Alex. No: your king *Darius* ſtill lives.

Perſ. What! would you kill him?

Alex. No.

Perſ. Then why do you purſue him?

Alex. To have him in my power.

Perſ. And make him a captive and a ſlave; which is worſe than killing him. But when you have him in your power, do you propoſe to ſet him up again, or in his room another royal *Perſian*, who has not offended you?

Alex. No: whom can I ſet up ſo worthy as *Alexander*, over the conqueſts of *Alexander?*

Perſ. Doubtleſs none ſo brave to maintain them. But what right do you claim to the crown of *Perſia?*

Alex. My ſword; that ſword which has conquered it.

Perſ. While that right is in ſuch hands, few will care to diſpute it. But were I, who am no conqueror, to drive away my neighbour's flocks and herds,

and make them my own, I doubt you would call it robbery, and impale me alive.

Alex. Doubtleſs: I conquered the *Perſian* empire; but I will protect the *Perſians* in their lives and property: it is ſuitable to my generoſity and juſtice.

Perſ. In conquering us you have deſtroyed many lives, and much property, againſt all juſtice; and reſerve the reſt for your own uſe, whenever and as often as you think fit to take them.

Alex. It is the right of war.

Perſ. War is then an unrighteous and inhuman thing, and entitles the next invader (if his ſword be longer than yours, and his fortune ſuperior) to drive you out, as you have done *Darius*.

Alex. Who ſhall dare to brave *Alexander?* Who contend with the ſon of a god?

Perſ. Methinks you come not very honourably by that divine pedigree, and carnal divinity; which reflects ſome diſgrace too upon your mother, and her huſband *Philip*, and is not much to the reputation of this god of the deſert. But who told you that he was your father?

Alex. His prieſts.

Perſ. They would have told me as much, had I been there at the head of an army in queſt of a celeſtial deſcent. It is no great credit to be akin to the figure of a ram: it is at leaſt as much honour to be akin to the next palm-tree, or to the next marble-quarry, the elements of ſuch inanimate deities.

Alex. Blaſpheme not the gods, if thou wouldſt avoid their vengeance: they will puniſh thee, though I forbear.

Perſ. If the ſon forgive me, I will venture the diſpleaſure of the father. I honour that only God, whoſe bright image I behold in the ſkies; nor fear the indignation of a piece of a trunk, or of a rock, however faſhioned; unworthy kindred of the great *Alexander*, the moſt exalted of men, but ſubject to pain, misfor-

tunes, and grief, and all the ſymptoms of mortality: the conqueror of *Aſia*, the avenger of *Greece*, muſt die. But firſt, how is *Greece* avenged?

Alex. By conquering *Perſia*.

Perſ. You have ruined both: but of the two you have rather revenged *Perſia* upon *Greece*. The leſſer follows the greater. You are already monarch of *Aſia*; and *Greece*, which you have enſlaved, will be but a province of *Perſia*: you do the very thing which you were ſo incenſed againſt our former princes for intending. If your ſovereignty continue, *Perſians* will in time be ſent governors of *Greece*; nay, you yourſelf, who are a *Greek*, wear already a *Perſian* habit.

Alex. I have made the world my own, and I will do with it as I liſt.

Perſ. You do ſo; but it is more than you would ſuffer others to do, who thought they had a better right. If you be innocent, how were the *Perſian* monarchs faulty?

Alex. I am *Alexander*, the ſon of *Jupiter*, and conqueror of the world.

Perſ. Nay, they had ſublime titles too, and heavenly alliances. They were lords of the world, and brothers of the ſun; a more illuſtrious and viſible deity than *Jupiter* the ram.

Alex. Their gods could not protect them; and mine have given me their empire. Once more, I am *Alexander*; the world is mine, and I will keep it.

Perſ. Now this is open and fair dealing, worthy the great ſpirit of *Alexander*. You had a mind to the world, and you took it; nor think it enough for you. If you had made this frank declaration at firſt, I ſhould not have troubled you with ſo much contradiction. If the great and bold mind of *Alexander* can ſtoop to diſſemble, we are never to expect that men will own the true motives of their conduct. Their reaſon is juſt what their paſſion pleaſes. All their plauſible and framed pretences are reſolvible into ſome ſelfiſh

appetite, which, like their conceit, is generally unmeaſurable.

G *I am*, &c.

Saturday, September 14. 1723. N°. 2.

Conſiderations upon the condition of an abſolute prince.

SIR,

THere is no human condition but what carries uneaſineſſes with it; and I believe it will be difficult to know what condition makes men moſt happy, or happy at all. There is no judging of it by outward appearances. We often envy others for what they find misfortunes; and pity them for things which are bleſſings, and either make them happy, or hinder them from being miſerable. Nothing can be happineſs in this world but gratifying our deſires and inclinations; and yet we can ſeldom gratify them to any degree, but by turning them into misfortunes, yet we muſt gratify them in ſome degree, or elſe we can have no happineſs at all.

To have no deſires (if that be poſſible) is a perfect ſtate of ſtupidity; and our deſires muſt be always to attain what we do not then enjoy, and often what we cannot compaſs. This produces uneaſineſs, or, in other words, renders us unhappy in ſome degree. The man therefore who has feweſt deſires, or deſires the leaſt difficult to be accompliſhed, has the leaſt unhappineſs; but wants many agreeable ſenſations, which men of more lively and active ſpirits enjoy. So that, upon the whole, if we balance the account, men have little reaſon to envy or pity one another: but if there be any difference between them, the condition of abſolute princes and great men is by far the moſt miſerable. They have little reliſh of the enjoyments which they poſſeſs; they are always purſuing things difficult to be obtained, and are in as conſtant fear and danger of

loſing what they have, as of gaining what they have not; and if they do gain it, they are ſeldom the better, but often plunged into new difficulties by their ſucceſs.

Great fortune comes attended with great cares, and much greatneſs has many incumbrances. This is the condition of a deſpotic prince, who, having much more buſineſs than himſelf can do, be his diligence ever ſo great, muſt ſhare the great weight and multiplicity of his affairs amongſt many; who will be but too apt, in the adminiſtration of their ſeveral parts, to attend more to their own greatneſs and advantages, than to their maſter's reputation and ſecurity, to juſtify their ill actions by his authority, and to acquire grandeur and riches to themſelves, while they heap obloquy upon him.

This is often the true reaſon why a good prince is not always popular. People will judge of him by what is done; and not by what he cauſes to be done; and therefore the public diſlike rarely ſtops at his ſervants, who perhaps alone deſerve it; but have often the art of involving him in the ill conſequences of their own conduct, and of making their crimes compleat, by engaging him to ſupport them in their crimes, by perſuading him that all their views and actions were for his ſervice, and by frightening him with this falſe and miſchievous maxim, That a *prince muſt never give up his ſervants:* a maxim fatal to many princes, and big with nonſenſe and with ruin to the people, as it makes all miniſters, even the weakeſt and the worſt, perfectly, unaccountable!

This is an unnatural maxim: nor have the moſt abſolute monarchs, though their power be erected upon the violent abaſement of human nature, and upon the ruins of all goodneſs, happineſs, and virtue, been ever able to practiſe it, however they may want it, and in ſpeculation pretend to it. The great *Turk* is often forced to give up his ſervants, who muſt die for his crimes, as well as for their own; ſo far is he from ſacrificing him-

ſelf for theirs, as this maxim would direct. Nor is there an arbitrary prince in the world but muſt give up the beſt miniſter that he has, if his army demand it; and where the people have any ſhare of power, no well-adviſed prince will employ a ſervant whom they juſtly hate and ſuſpect.

Princes are ſet in a high place; which, though the moſt coveted of all, has the leaſt happineſs of any other. Thoſe who have no equals, can hardly have any friends; and a particular friendſhip and confidence between an arbitrary prince and any of his own ſubjects, is ſeldom ſincere on either ſide, eſpecially on theirs; and often fatal to him, ſometimes to them. Such princes are moſt ſucceſsfully betrayed by their greateſt favourites, who are likewiſe frequently undone for being favourites. Nor can princes, with all their power, raiſe to the higheſt place thoſe who are higheſt in their favour. Intereſt, or ambition, and ſometimes fear, determines their choice; and their firſt miniſter is often the man whom they hate moſt, or dread moſt, which is the beginning of hatred. *Nero* hated *Seneca* and *Burrhus*; and *Lewis* XIII. hated cardinal *Richlieu*; as did king *James* I. towards his latter end, the duke of *Buckingham*. Even the crafty, implacable, and diffident *Tiberius* was forced to continue the traytor *Sejanus* in his power, places, and truſt, a good while after he had full proof that he ſought his life and empire.

The greateſt princes therefore are generally deſtitute of friends. To purchaſe friends they muſt give them power; and power cancels all friendſhips. It is the moſt ſelfiſh thing in the world. Thoſe who have it are too frequently faithleſs to the giver; and, when it is taken away always ungrateful. And this is the reaſon why they may diſlike their miniſters, and yet be loth to change them: they know, that to diſmiſs their ſervants, is to multiply their enemies. So they are forced to accept faint or falſe ſervices, to prevent open oppoſition; which they who have been in their ſer-

vice, and know their affairs and deſigns, are the beſt qualified to make.

The opening of one's heart to a friend, is one of the greateſt pleaſures and reliefs ariſing from friendſhip; and private men can practiſe it, becauſe where the reputation of keeping a ſecret is greater than the temptation to reveal it, it will be kept: but to whom can a prince lay open his heart in any great and tender point, when by doing it he puts his ſafety and reputation in the power of another who muſt be paid dear for being faithful; and perhaps at laſt is not ſo, becauſe he never thinks himſelf ſufficiently paid!

Hence princes and great men are naturally cloſe and reſerved, and keep themſelves as far as poſſible within their own power: they know that the fidelity of men is then only greater than their treachery, when the price is greater. Secreſy is indeed ſo abſolutely neceſſary in great affairs, that he who wants it, is utterly unfit for them; and I have known very little men, who, with this qualification alone, have been thought great men. Sometimes men are dark and cautious from the littleneſs of their talents; and employments and truſt generally make men ſo.

As to the public friendſhips of princes, that is, of princes with princes, it is generally grimace; and there can ſcarce be any ſuch thing. They are all rivals for power and credit; and all envy, or are envied by, one another. Nor do treaties and alliances allay their jealouſies and heart-burnings, but often encreaſe them: they are generally made out of fear, and always imply diſtruſt. Men of power, at leaſt men of equal power, princes or ſubjects, never agree but from the neceſſity of their affairs; and they too often ſeem to be friends, on purpoſe to execute their malice with the greater certainty. Every particular wants to be maſter, and to give laws to all the reſt; and they often puſh their mutual diffidence even to ridicule, and fall into violence and quarrels about the ceremonial;

which, like ſome other ceremonies, ſignifies not a ſtraw to the reſt of the world, and yet muſt be owned to be of conſiderable conſequence to thoſe that deal in it.

Nor are princes more happy in their families. They are unhappy if they have no children, becauſe by it conſpiracies are encouraged, as one life is eaſier deſtroyed than ſeveral. *Julius Cæſar* had no child; and the tyrannicides hoped in him to have deſtroyed his family. The ſame conſideration was doubtleſs one motive to the many plots againſt queen *Eliſabeth* and king *William*: if they have children, they are often as unhappy; and there is ſeldom a good underſtanding between the incumbent and the next heir; who ſometimes takes the throne before it is vacant, and ſometimes makes a vacancy: *Imperium habere quam expectare mallet.* And ſometimes the father deſtroys the ſon, for fear of being deſtroyed by him; as did *Conſtantine* the firſt Chriſtian emperor, and *Philip* II. of *Spain*. And thus the excellent *Germanicus* owed his murder to the cruel politics of *Tiberius*, his uncle, and his father by adoption. Nor do the children of princes hate one another leſs, than the eldeſt or moſt ambitious generally does his father. The Great *Mogul* almoſt always ſees his ſons, and his daughters with them, engaged in wars and blood for their father's empire; and he is their priſoner by turns, as their ſeveral parties prevail, and perhaps ends his life in a dungeon. One of *David*'s ſons lay with his ſiſter, and was killed by another ſon, who defiled his father's bed, and endeavoured to dethrone him; and *Solomon*, as ſoon as his father was dead, put his eldeſt brother to death.

Princes are likewiſe ſubject to higher dangers, and have more and greater enemies, than other men; and their lives and reputations are more expoſed. They have no ſmall enemies, but either neighbouring princes and ſtates as powerful or politic as themſelves; or great domeſtic conſpirators, often more terrible; or little aſſaſſins, the moſt formidable enemies of all, as they are the

moſt ſure and ſudden. Beſides, the dangers they are ſometimes in are not ſeen or credited till they are paſt remedy. *Domitian* therefore ſaid well, *Conditionem principum miſerrimam, quibus de conjuratione comperta non crederetur, niſi occiſis:* "It is a miſerable lot "that of princes, never to be believed as to any con- "ſpiracy formed againſt them till it has had its effect, "and they are fallen by it." *Sueton. in Domitian.* C. 21

I ſhall refer to another paper my further conſiderations upon the condition of a prince.

G *I am, &c.*

Saturday, November 2. 1723. N°. 3.

The ſame ſubject continued.

SIR,

I Have already ſent you a letter about the condition of an arbitrary prince: I here ſend you another; and what is ſaid in both does in ſome reſpects concern all princes, eſpecially all princes who do not make the fixed and ſtanding laws of their country the rules of their government. For though I do not think it poſſible for any prince, the wiſeſt, and moſt vigilant, and virtuous, to avoid all the inconveniences which I have obſerved uſually to attend a crown; yet it is my opinion, that a prince of a legal and limited ſtate, who defends the laws and rights of his people to his peoples advantage, will be defended by his people and the laws; that a righteous adminiſtration will be too powerful for unrighteous factions, and make him ſafe in the love of his ſubjects, againſt the leaders and deceivers of parties, and againſt the intrigues of his own ſervants, who will be obliged to ſerve him faithfully in their own defence, and cannot diſtreſs him where his people love him. But as this has been the condition of few, very few princes, they have generally reduced themſelves to the evils and hardſhips which I have al-

ready mentioned in part, and ſhall now further ſet forth.

Such princes are generally poor, notwithſtanding their great revenues. Their income is ſcarce ever well huſbanded. The great number of officers neceſſary to gather it in, muſt all be paid ſuitable to the grandeur and bounty of a prince; and it is well if they do not finger more of it, much more than their pay; ſo that it comes into his coffers with large abatements; and the bulk of his rents is far ſhort of the name, yet by that name his wealth is computed; and hence expectations from him are higher than his ability to anſwer them.

If his money be waſted in his receipts, it is ſtill more ſo in his iſſues. His revenues are diſtributed, as well as collected, by a great number of officers, with great ſalaries, who, in the payment of his bills, frequently value their own gain more than their maſter's credit, and keep in their hands for their own uſe the money which they ſhould pay away for his. For this reaſon he buys almoſt every thing extremely dear, ſometimes at double, nay, treble its value: becauſe they who will ſell have large intereſt for ſlow and uncertain payment: neither is it uncommon, that thoſe who buy for him, combine with thoſe who ſell to him, and divide the profits of an extravagant bill: even officers who do not conſpire againſt his purſe out of ſordidneſs, frequently do it to oblige their friends; ſo that he is at leaſt cheated on one ſide. I have known a piece of ground ſold to a king at fifty times its value, and an old houſe for not much leſs; and the like enormous prices received for a piece of painting, for a horſe, and for a paltry rarity, which, for the benefit of a friend, they who had his ear perſuaded him to purchaſe.

But beſides all this, let his revenues be as great as they will, the demands upon them are commonly greater. Every ſervice done him coſts him dear; and it is well if he pays not equally dear for diſſervice and

treachery; a price which yet he is obliged ſometimes knowingly to pay, to deceive and flatter an enemy, or a falſe friend whom he dares not cruſh. The pretenſions too of thoſe who never ſerved him, but fancy that they did, or that they can, are infinite; and they will be too apt to diſtreſs him without provocation, if he do not reward them without cauſe, or beyond their merit. Whatever they do for him, or think they can do, claims a high price, not according to its worth, but according to their own conceit, and to his grandeur; and all his gratuities are expected to be great, how ſmall ſoever they and their pretenſions are who expect them: others, who think they can hurt him, will make a virtue of not being miſchievous; but not a virtue which is to be its own reward, but ſuch a virtue as will ſeek revenge where it is not rewarded; ſo that he muſt pay as well for falſe ſervices, and for no ſervices, as for real ſervices; his foes for ſparing him, and his friends for defending him, and both rather according to the meaſure of their own ſelfiſh value and importance, than ſuitably to reaſon, or even to his ability.

And as ſuch princes are, I think without exception, oppreſſors of their people, they muſt fear thoſe whom they oppreſs, and depend for their ſecurity either upon a nobility or an army, or upon an army only; two ſorts of men equally ambitious and inſatiable, who will expect to riot upon the ſpoils of the prince, as he does upon the ſpoils of the people, and will turn upon him if he diſappoint their avarice and pride, nor ſpare him if he ſpare his ſubjects.

The *Roman* emperors were no longer ſafe than they were feeding the ſoldiery with largeſſes, and ſometimes all that they had to beſtow was not a ſufficient bribe to ſave their lives. The immenſe revenue of the whole *Roman* world was too little for the ſoldiery alone, tho' the provinces were ranſacked, tortured, and exhauſted, to encreaſe it. The emperor was but a name: the ſoldiers were the ſtate, the governors of the ſtate, and the gentle land-

lords of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, as the great *Turk* is at this day but the creature and the property of the Janizaries, who are the real diſpoſers of the *Turkiſh* diadem, and the real governors, or rather emperors of *Turky*. He who has the name, is but the gatherer of their rents; and they hold him in ſuch alarms, that he is ſcarce ſecure of his life for a day, and in ſuch neceſſities, that, to ſatiate them, he is forced to be daily killing and plundering his baſhaws, glutted with the plunder of the provinces; which, to ſupply this conſtant and progreſſive plunder, are reduced to regions of gloomy ſolitude and deſolation: and all this wealth of ſo great and ſo fine a portion of the earth does but end in a fee to a tribe of rogues, renegadoes, and vagabonds, to ſave their maſter's life.

No prince's coffers are full enough to anſwer all demands; and as to the places and bounties which he has to beſtow, he may engage by them a number of people in his intereſt; but he makes a greater number of enemies, becauſe to every ſuch favour there are many pretenders, and all are diſguſted but he who gains it; and the boundary between diſguſt and enmity is ſo very ſmall in ſuch caſes, that it is ſcarce to be meaſured, or indeed diſcerned. Where twenty people aim at the ſame thing, he can make but a friend of one.

Hence ſuch a prince muſt be ſubject to perpetual and painful hypocriſy, by being obliged to ſoften diſappointments with good words, which perhaps he does not mean; and with fair promiſes, which he cannot keep. It behoves him to pleaſe all that he can pleaſe, and to provoke none wilfully; for, in ſpite of his greateſt complaiſance, many will be provoked by diſappointments which he cannot prevent.

No ſorts of men are under ſuch great reſtraints as to liberty of ſpeech as princes are; nor can their greateſt power give them this freedom with any ſafety. For, beſides that a looſe in mirth and jeſts affects their dignity, and weakens its awe, their words are all thought to have

deſign in them, and are readily caught up and miſapplied, eſpecially where they ſeem any way to relate to their own power, or to the perſons of men. *Caſar* did at leaſt haſten the conſpiracy againſt him by a miſerable pun of his: he ſaid, that *Sylla*, who had reſigned the dictatorſhip, *was a novice in letters, he could not dictate.*

From theſe words of his, perhaps ſpoken in pure jeſt, the meaſure of his ambition was taken, though I think there were much better proofs againſt him. *Galba* was murdered by his guards, for an honeſt unwary ſpeech of his: he declared, *he would chooſe ſoldiers, and not purchaſe them:* and *Caſſius Chærea*, captain of the guards to *Caligula*, put that prince to death, for rallying him upon his effeminacy.

All ſatyrical railleries are the more felt, and the leaſt forgiven, the higher they come. A ſarcaſm from a ſuperior is an inſult, becauſe it cannot be returned. No man cares to bear a ſevere jeſt, which only ſerves to ſhew him how much lower he is than the perſon who makes it; and therefore no wiſe or good-natured man will make ſuch jeſt. Greatneſs is ſo naturally apt to be proud, that we generally expect no better from it, and are ready to ſee pride in great men where they really have none, or ſhew none; and becauſe we hate pride, we are apt to hate greatneſs, which we conſider as the cauſe of pride: an imputation which all great men can never be too careful to avoid; and let them be ever ſo careful and complaiſant, they will never wholly avoid it: and therefore ſtatelineſs of behaviour, and imperious airs, are ſigns of great want of ſenſe, and the certain cauſes of hate.

Great men can never be too well-bred. We are naturally quick-ſighted enough to ſee the difference between us and them, and can only be reconciled to it by their treating us as if there was none; but ſupercilious pains taken on their ſide, will ſurely create diſtaſte and enmity on ours. We think that they owe us a ſort of amends for being greater than we; and if they can pay

us with affability and condeſcenſion, they pay eaſily, and have no occaſion to complain.

Ceſar was never forgiven for receiving the *Roman* magiſtracy ſitting: and ſome paſſionate expreſſions of K. *Charles* I. againſt the parliament, did him more miſchief than all his former encroachments upon the conſtitution; as theſe expreſſions created perſonal enemies, and a fear and diſtruſt of his ſpirit and ſincerity. His father, ſtill leſs capable of ſupporting the dignity of a crown, and of preſerving the affections of his people, had ſuch a wild mixture of timidity and pride, and familiarity, that many of them hated him, more deſpiſed him, and yet none feared him. He would ſacrifice his reputation with his people to the titillation of a poor pun, and manifeſt his paſſion for abſolute power, rather than ſmother a wretched witticiſm, or a quaint conceit, hardly worthy of a country ſchool-maſter. When a fit of bouncing was upon him, then he was the oldeſt king in *Europe*, and, he trowed, the wiſeſt, and would be maſter of the purſes of his ſubjects; but when the parliament had put him into a fright, then they had an humble ſermon from him, larded with ſcraps of *Latin*, upon the duty and reſtraints of a ſovereign; and logic was chopped, and diſtinctions were made, upon that head.

His private converſation was low and cheap; and when the crown was off, the king was never ſeen; his tongue never lay ſtill, and his uſual themes were far unworthy of royalty: he delighted in ſifting metaphyſical queſtions, and in diſcuſſing dark points in divinity, and in ſmutty and familiar jokes; and it was uſual with him to fall upon men with rude language and ill-breeding: his condeſcenſion to others was as full of meanneſſes, and the obſcenities and fulſome ſtyle of his letters are below the loweſt mechanic. It was impoſſible to know him and reverence him. Thoſe who were raiſed by him, and moſt obliged to him, treated him with contempt, and hectored him when they could not wheedle him: and it was uſual with him to give and

take ſuch language, as no gentleman would give or take. He was particularly free of his oaths and his kiſſes, practices beneath a great or a grave man. He was ſo ignorant of his character, and ſo fond of logic, that from a great king he deſcended to be a diſputant on one ſide in a ſquabble of divines. His reputation abroad was as low as at home. He talked much of kingcraft; but his maxims, which he was always uttering, were poor ones, and foreign princes derided him. In their treaties with one another, they either took no notice of this keeper of the balance of *Europe*, or always outwitted him. In his own negotiations with them, they over-reached and baffled him, even to wantonneſs; and treated his long letters and his learned labours with ſmall regard: his premonition to princes, and his books of divinity had no influence on the powers of Chriſtendom.

King *Charles* II. had more ſenſe, and more accompliſhments: he had the parts and addreſs of a gentleman; but he was too ludicrous for a king. He had many pleaſant ſtories, and told them well: he made very good jeſts, and diverted his friends over a bottle. But the monarch ſuffered in the merry companion, and his good-nature was the occaſion of many ill-natured railleries. His great familiarities with his ſubjects made them very familiar with the dignity of the diadem; and he never made ſo many jeſts as were made upon him. The freedoms which his own dear friends the wits uſed with their ſovereign, and their ſarcaſms upon ſo great a prince, are aſtoniſhing.

Scarce any of the words of a prince fall to the ground; they therefore ought to be cautious what words they utter. Whatever he ſays, and his manner of ſaying it, will be apt to make impreſſions either to his advantage or diſadvantage. His ſayings quickly fly abroad, and are at the mercy of every interpreter; and when once his words are public, it depends no longer on himſelf what meaning his words ſhall bear. The public rarely diſtinguiſh the man from the king; but with them, in every thing

he acts and ſpeaks as a king, and conſequently by all his words and actions that come abroad, his royal dignity is affected, though they regard neither.

My next letter ſhall be upon the ſame ſubject.

G *I am*, &c.

Saturday, November 9. 1723. N°. 4.

The ſame ſubject continued.

I R,

THe actions of a prince are ſtill more liable to cenſure than his words. His words, which can be heard but by a few, may be miſrepreſented; and this his friends may plead in his defence; but his actions publiſh themſelves; and all men will pretend to judge what all men ſee, and what concerns all men. Nor muſt he expect to be judged by the motives, and intention of his conduct, but by the effects. Thoſe motives, however juſt and neceſſary, are not always ſuch as he can avow; and if he mean one thing, and pretend another, he cannot with a good grace take it ill that his ſincerity is ſuſpected.

Henry III. of *France* diſpatched monſieur *Bellievre* away to *England* as his ambaſſador extraordinary, to interpoſe his royal credit with queen *Elizabeth*, for the life of *Mary* queen of *Scots*; and great conſequences were expected from ſo much zeal and oſtentation. Nor was ever any thing more ſtrong, laboured, and pathetic, than monſieur *Bellievre*'s ſpeech upon that occaſion. In it all the topics of mercy, of conſanguinity, of charity and forgiveneſs, of good policy, of the ſacredneſs of the blood of princes, and the ill example of ſhedding it, were urged and exhauſted with great earneſtneſs and art. The *French* king's pious concern for his ſiſter-in-law was dreſſed up in moving colours, and warm arguments were fetched from the ſafety and reputation of queen *Elizabeth* herſelf. Never was ſuch a dolorous farce! The ambaſſador had private orders to ſolicite in his majeſty's name the execution of Q. *Mary*,

and alledged the ſame arguments for that execution.

Now the whole of this conduct, ſo full of contradiction and inſincerity, was neceſſary to his condition. It concerned that prince's reputation with his people, and with all the Catholics in *Europe*, to intereſt himſelf in the life of a Catholic queen, his brother's wife: if he had not, he had furniſhed the *Guiſes* and the league, already too popular and powerful, with a new advantage againſt him. They had already charged him with hereſy, though he had murdered a world of heretics to demonſtrate his Catholic zeal. But it concerned him full as nearly, that that queen ſhould neither be reſtored to *Scotland*, nor ſucceed queen *Elizabeth* in *England*, and thereby ſtrengthen the hands of the league, and her uncles the *Guiſes*, againſt him.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who was a wiſe princeſs, acted the ſame double part in the ſame affair. The ſecurity of her life and her crown was precarious while the queen of *Scots* lived; and yet the life of her royal couſin and ſiſter was ſo dear to her, that the importunity and repeated addreſſes and petitions of parliament, with all the doughty caſuiſtry and logic of her ſpiritual counſellors, the biſhops, could hardly prevail upon her tender conſcience to rid herſelf and her realm of ſo dangerous an enemy; and after ſhe had ſubmited her many ſcruples to the love and fears of the people, and to the holy reaſonings of the biſhops, ſhe was forced to be ſurpriſed into the ſigning of the dead warrant; which, after all, ſhe never meant to have executed, but only kept over the ſentenced queen *in terrorem*. But this her merciful purpoſe was fruſtrated by the officious zeal of ſecretary *Daviſon*; for which the poor man was diſgraced.

This was all illuſion. No perſon upon earth wiſhed more paſſionately for the death of *Mary* queen of *Scots*; but ſhe did wiſely to ſave appearances. She had good reaſons for what ſhe had done; and reaſons equally good for not bearing her teſtimony to the rightfulneſs of putting a queen to death.

Queen *Elizabeth* eſcaped the bloody hand of her ſiſter *Mary*, by the policy of king *Philip* her huſband, which got the better of his bigotry and natural cruelty. His wife had no children, and the crown muſt deſcend either to her ſiſter *Elizabeth*, who was a Proteſtant, or to the queen of *Scots*, who was a Papiſt, and alſo queen of *France*. He hated Proteſtants, but loved his intereſt better; and ſaved the princeſs, to prevent ſo much power from falling into the *French* ſcale. This was juſt policy; but he durſt not own it: it would have made him odious to the court of *Rome*, and to the Popiſh world.

Thus princes themſelves become ſubjects; ſubjects to the cenſure of their people: and to pleaſe them, or to avoid their diſpleaſure, are often obliged to diſguiſe their actions, often to diſown the motives of their beſt actions, and ſometimes the actions themſelves. This acting in maſquerade is a reſtraint which moſt princes, the moſt haughty and unlimited, muſt undergo. Not *Louis le Grand*, nor the great *Turk*, durſt declare to his people, that he oppreſſed them to ſatiate his pride or avarice; that he went to war through ambition, and ſpilled their blood for fame.

Cæſar, the mighty and ſucceſsful *Cæſar*, had no other deity but falſe glory! But, with all his power and fortune, he was not powerful enough to declare, that he ſhed human blood, and enſlaved the world, only to make more noiſe than any man in it; for this great glory of his was no more but noiſe and miſchief. His purpoſe of war with the *Parthians* was only to gratify his reſtleſs ſpirit, and to employ the ſpirits of the *Romans*, which, by enſlaving them, he had incenſed; and he was no longer eaſy and ſafe, than he was fighting and killing. But this was a ſecret not fit to be told, and the honour and benefit of the *Romans* were boldly pretended; that is, the *Romans* were to have certain loſſes, and no purchaſe, for the honour and benefit of the *Romans*: for, if he had conquered all *Parthia*, which was no ways probable, *Rome* would

have been never the better, but, on the contrary, muſt have ſacrificed many *Romans* to the pride and pleaſure of *Cæſar*.

Oliver Cromwell ſought the Lord upon all occaſions, and all that he did was the Lord's doings; and becauſe many of the ſaints preached it, numbers believed it. Now, though this was downright impudence, which, to a wiſe man, is worſe than ſilence, yet it paſſed with a party. Parties generally act implicitly: watch-word and cant paſs with them for reaſon, and they find great conviction in a few ſolemn unmeaning ſounds. The partiſans of *Cæſar* vindicated their purpoſe of making him a king, by a fooliſh old prophecy never heard of before, That none but a king could conquer the *Parthians*. They could not have deviſed a better argument; it convinced the whole party, and filled their mouths with an anſwer to the ſtiff-necked republicans.

Had *Cromwell* been declared king, I doubt not but his preachers would have found a revelation for it, and probably the coronation-ſermon would have abounded with texts that gave him the diadem. It would not have been the firſt nor the laſt time that the bible has been made a great courtier, and Heaven the voucher of wickedneſs and falſhood. The laſt argument of the *Spaniſh* clergy for the expulſion of the *Moors*, was a bell in the church of *Vililah*, which rung of its own accord; and though it uttered nothing but ſound, yet expreſly commanded that expulſion, and fully ſatisfied king *Philip*'s conſcience. It was a miracle; and what ſhould miracles be worked for, but for the confuſion of infidels and heretics? And who ſhould ſee the deſign of miracles executed, but thoſe who interpret miracles?

Princes muſt ſay ſomething for their beſt and worſt actions; which is a confeſſion, that they are not ſo unaccountable as ſome would make them. Their reputation is at the mercy of their people; and when their reputation is loſt or leſſened, they cannot poſſeſs their crowns in much peace, nor indeed in much ſafety.

Hence nothing is ſo tender as the reputation of a prince, and nothing ought to exerciſe his thoughts and fears more. He muſt not meaſure his public fame by the fine tales told them by thoſe who are well paid for the tales, and dare not always tell him truth, for fear of loſing that pay. It would be more to his advantage to hear the worſt things that are ſaid of him; for while he is falſly told that all things go well, he will never think of altering his conduct, how wrong ſoever he is; and going on in an error for want of honeſt information, has been the ruin of many princes. They cannot go abroad for truth, and rarely hear it at home; and the evil day has come upon them when they thought themſelves moſt ſecure: or if they have heard part of the truth, it has come diſguiſed to their ears; and the complaints of the people, forced from them by oppreſſion, have been repreſented as the clamours of malecontents, and as the voice of faction. And it is very true, that faction often rails without ground; but it is as true, that faction often derives its chief power from complaints that are well-grounded. Nor is it at all good reaſoning to juſtify every thing which faction condemns.

----- *Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri.*

Some men, eſpecially great men, would never hear of their faults, were it not for their foes; and princes might often have learned better leſſons of government from the ſatires made upon them, than from their many panegyrics. Their panegyrics conſecrate their worſt actions, and never find any thing to be mended; but in ſatire there is always ſome truth, and often a great deal; and where there is no truth, there is no ſatire.

It is the intereſt of a prince to know what his ſubjects think of him and his government; it is a duty which he owes to himſelf as well as to them; and tho' he may hear of many evils and grievances which are fathered upon him, and yet not owing to him, he will probably at the ſame time hear of many that he has

power to remove, or to mitigate. Let him do his beſt, he will have many enemies; but this is no reaſon why he ſhould not leſſen their number, by leſſening the cauſe all he can.

It is a hard matter for a prince to learn his true character at ſecond-hand: his ſureſt way is to learn it from himſelf, from the meaſures which he purſues, and from the effects which they ought to have upon the minds and fortunes of men. His friends will ſanctify or palliate his greateſt faults; and his foes will make crimes of his greateſt virtues. If he be a bigot to a reigning ſuperſtition, wiſe men will deſpiſe him; and if he deſpiſe ſuperſtition, the bigots, who are always the majority, will curſe him. Nor will the moſt able and upright adminiſtration be of any merit with them, if he do not ſeaſon his adminiſtration with the blood of infidels and heretics, and exclude the beſt and ſobereſt part of his ſubjects from any ſhare in his protection and paternal mercy; and if he fall in with this religious fury, he deſtroys or provokes his ſobereſt and beſt ſubjects. So that to be a ſaint one way, he muſt be a devil on the other; a character very common in the world: and if he do not exerciſe his rage for enthuſiaſts, he muſt expect to feel theirs, and to have his humanity and wiſdom expoſed and treated as atheiſm. To butcher, or be butchered, is the lot of a prince who rules over bigots; a ſort of mad-men, who would father their own frenzy upon the Deity, and make him thirſt after the cooleſt human blood to aſſwage it. The *Spaniſh* inquiſition is a prieſtly ſlaughter-houſe, a dreadful tribunal erected againſt the lives, conſciences, and faculties of men; and yet no king of *Spain* could attempt to ſuppreſs it, without expecting to loſe his life in the attempt. Nor is it in the power of the Pope to ſuppreſs Popery. And the great *Turk*, abſolute and irreſiſtible as he is, were he to turn Chriſtian, could not live half an hour.

Princes are under the ſame difficulty, when they

would cure any other mighty evil in their government. Standing armies are ſtanding curſes in every country under the ſun, where they are more powerful than the people; and yet it is hardly poſſible for a prince that rules by an army, to part with his army, or to ſet up any new authority over them. He will find them armed againſt himſelf, as well as againſt his people or his neighbours; and he cannot relieve his ſubjects, if he would. The *Aſiatic* governments, and all that are like them, are modelled for the deſtruction of the human race; and yet the beſt and wiſeſt man that ever lived, were he at the head of one of thoſe governments, muſt act according to its bloody maxims, or quickly periſh. *Brutus*, in the place of the great *Turk*, muſt have been a great *Turk*, and obſerved all the eſſential principles of that ſavage monarchy. Human wiſdom cannot give freedom to *Turky*; and if the laws of liberty, practiſed amongſt us, were to be followed there, eſpecially in caſes of treaſon, there would be an end of the empire in a month, and every baſhaw would be an independent king. Great empires cannot ſubſiſt without great armies, and liberty cannot ſubſiſt with them. As armies long kept up, and grown part of the government, will ſoon engroſs the whole government, and can never be diſbanded; ſo liberty long loſt, can never be recovered. Is not this an awful leſſon to free ſtates, to be vigilant againſt a dreadful condition, which has no remedy?

This therefore is the ſituation of the beſt arbitrary prince, as to his conduct and popularity. The good that he would do, he cannot do; and the good that he does, he ſometimes dares not own. He is often hated for his beſt deeds, and ſlandered for his nobleſt qualities: if he rule by ſoldiers, he muſt oppreſs his people; and if he favour his people, he is in danger from his ſoldiers. Where there are factions, he is ſure of one of them for his foes; and is expoſed to the cruelty of the bigots for his mercy to all men. As to

limited princes, who have the laws for the rules of their actions, and rule their actions by thoſe laws, and ſtudy in all things the happineſs of their people, they may be ſecure from the convulſions which are ſcarce ſeparable from abſolute monarchies; nor are they neceſſitated to exerciſe the violence and fraud by which the others ſubſiſt, unleſs they have the misfortune to govern a people mad with enthuſiaſm and bigotry: and there is no remedy but to overcome the enthuſiaſm, or to be carried away with it; to comply in ſome inſtances with reigning and popular prejudices; to elude their force by ſeeming to yield to them; and in time, by patience and prudent management, wholly to deſtroy them.

G *I am*, &c.

Saturday, November 30. 1723. N°. 5.

Conſiderations upon the condition of prime miniſters of ſtate.

SIR,

I Have conſidered, in three former letters, ſome of the many evils that encompaſs royalty: I ſhall here conſider the condition of great miniſters; who are far from being ſo happy as they appear. Thoſe who view them at a diſtance, are apt to meaſure their happineſs by their greatneſs; and, as they do in other things, to take appearances for proofs. They ſee the elevation of great men, the ſhew that they make, the numbers that follow them, and the obedience and adoration which are paid them; and from all this infer a ſuitable degree of felicity. This is wrong reaſoning. The world affords not more unhappy men, than thoſe who ſeem to abound in happineſs, by abounding in certain things, which others, who have them not, conſider as the means of happineſs. The increaſe of fortune is followed by an increaſe of cares;

would cure any other mighty evil in their government. Standing armies are ſtanding curſes in every country under the ſun, where they are more powerful than the people; and yet it is hardly poſſible for a prince that rules by an army, to part with his army, or to ſet up any new authority over them. He will find them armed againſt himſelf, as well as againſt his people or his neighbours; and he cannot relieve his ſubjects, if he would. The *Aſiatic* governments, and all that are like them, are modelled for the deſtruction of the human race; and yet the beſt and wiſeſt man that ever lived, were he at the head of one of thoſe governments, muſt act according to its bloody maxims, or quickly periſh. *Brutus*, in the place of the great *Turk*, muſt have been a great *Turk*, and obſerved all the eſſential principles of that ſavage monarchy. Human wiſdom cannot give freedom to *Turky*; and if the laws of liberty, practiſed amongſt us, were to be followed there, eſpecially in caſes of treaſon, there would be an end of the empire in a month, and every baſhaw would be an independent king. Great empires cannot ſubſiſt without great armies, and liberty cannot ſubſiſt with them. As armies long kept up, and grown part of the government, will ſoon engroſs the whole government, and can never be diſbanded; ſo liberty long loſt, can never be recovered. Is not this an awful leſſon to free ſtates, to be vigilant againſt a dreadful condition, which has no remedy?

This therefore is the ſituation of the beſt arbitrary prince, as to his conduct and popularity. The good that he would do, he cannot do; and the good that he does, he ſometimes dares not own. He is often hated for his beſt deeds, and ſlandered for his nobleſt qualities: if he rule by ſoldiers, he muſt oppreſs his people; and if he favour his people, he is in danger from his ſoldiers. Where there are factions, he is ſure of one of them for his foes; and is expoſed to the cruelty of the bigots for his mercy to all men. As to

limited princes, who have the laws for the rules of their actions, and rule their actions by thoſe laws, and ſtudy in all things the happineſs of their people, they may be ſecure from the convulſions which are ſcarce ſeparable from abſolute monarchies; nor are they neceſſitated to exerciſe the violence and fraud by which the others ſubſiſt, unleſs they have the misfortune to govern a people mad with enthuſiaſm and bigotry: and there is no remedy but to overcome the enthuſiaſm, or to be carried away with it; to comply in ſome inſtances with reigning and popular prejudices; to elude their force by ſeeming to yield to them; and in time, by patience and prudent management, wholly to deſtroy them.

G *I am*, &c.

Saturday, November 30. 1723. N°. 5.

Conſiderations upon the condition of prime miniſters of ſtate.

SIR,

I Have conſidered, in three former letters, ſome of the many evils that encompaſs royalty: I ſhall here conſider the condition of great miniſters; who are far from being ſo happy as they appear. Thoſe who view them at a diſtance, are apt to meaſure their happineſs by their greatneſs; and, as they do in other things, to take appearances for proofs. They ſee the elevation of great men, the ſhew that they make, the numbers that follow them, and the obedience and adoration which are paid them; and from all this infer a ſuitable degree of felicity. This is wrong reaſoning. The world affords not more unhappy men, than thoſe who ſeem to abound in happineſs, by abounding in certain things, which others, who have them not, conſider as the means of happineſs. The increaſe of fortune is followed by an increaſe of cares;

and riches and power, ſo much the aim of all men, as the chief cauſes of worldly happineſs, are no more capable of giving it, than of giving health, ſtrength, or beauty; but often become real misfortunes and the bitter ſources of miſery in various ſhapes. All which will be more manifeſt from an enquiry into the condition of a great man.

In his purſuit of greatneſs he will meet with many rough rebukes, and many ſhocking diſappointments. Things, upon which he had ſet his heart, will often fail him; and the next hopes of his ambition be often fruſtrated. Little men and ſmall accidents will frequently do him great and eſſential harm; and the chance of a day deſtroy the ſchemes of years. Thoſe who are his equals, will not care to ſee over their heads one who they think ought to be at their elbow; and when he offers to break out of his rank, will be apt to give him an invidious pull backwards. They will not care to ſee their companion become their maſter; and ſuch as are yet greater than he, will not love one who would be as great as they, and when he is as great, would be greater; one, who, having been accuſtomed to mount above his equals, aims viſibly at equalling his ſuperiors, or at having none.

Here are the beginnings of numerous conſpiracies againſt him and his ambition; conſpiracies that will watch his ſteps, retard his advancement, blaſt his views, and perhaps his reputation; and when he has gained ground, be ready to ſet him back again: they will often reduce him to difficulties, often to deſpair, or to painful patience, and make his aſcent tedious and tireſome: they will be heavy weights upon him while he riſes, and thorns in his ſide when he is riſen; and poſſibly puſh him over a precipice at laſt.

In his ſtate of exaltation he will find new difficulties to encounter, beſides moſt of the old ones encreaſed; and the grandeur which he had ſo long and ſo painfully purſued, he will now find to be chiefly pomp and

name, the reputation of happineſs without happineſs: he will meet with a thouſand mortifications which a private character is a ſtranger to, and which but for his elevation he would have never known. He will never be able to oblige all who are able to hurt him, if they be not obliged; nor to terrify all who can diſtreſs him, if they be not terrified. By this power he will think himſelf entitled to honour and ſubmiſſion; and where he miſſes the ſame, as certainly he often will, his vexation will be as great as are the notions which he entertains of his worth and power; and thoſe notions being generally ſufficiently ſelfiſh, that is, extreme, that vexation muſt likewiſe be extreme.

Hence a diſappointment in ſmall things often gives men great diſturbance; not from the value of the thing, but from the value which they put upon themſelves; and great men are not apt to value themſelves leſs than other men are, but much more, and, at leaſt, in proportion to their greatneſs. A private man's vineyard could not be of much importance to a king; but a king thought it of great importance to be refuſed it, when he had ſet his heart upon having it. *Ahab* could not brook his refuſal of *Naboth*; and therefore *Ahab came into his houſe heavy and diſpleaſed; and he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no bread.* 1 Kings xxi. 4. Archbiſhop *Laud* was equally diſcontented, and more enraged, by a jeſt of *Archy* the king's fool, upon the mad and unſucceſsful pranks which his grace was playing with religion in *Scotland*; ſo enraged, that though *Archy* was a profeſſed and allowed buffoon, and had made many jeſts equally ſevere upon the king himſelf without offence, yet of ſo fierce and unforgiving a temper was the archbiſhop, and ſo much a greater man than his majeſty, that poor *Archy* was by a ſolemn act of council baniſhed the court, for offending his meek grace of *Canterbury*.

Such inſtances ſhew, that trifles are capable of mortifying the moſt exalted men, becauſe the moſt exalted men think that they ought to be balked and ruffled in nothing, and expect to be protected by their exaltation from all contradiction and oppoſition: whereas greatneſs, which muſt be ſupported by much action, and by the co-operation of many perſons, does, by encreaſing their neceſſities and views, encreaſe alſo their anxieties and diſappointments. They will need many helps, and be obliged to embark in many deſigns; and both the helps and the deſigns that they relied on will often fail them. And as they will find the cauſe of that failure in the ſhortneſs of their power, it will be natural for them to be trying expedients to enlarge their power: if thoſe expedients miſcarry, as they frequently will, their uneaſineſſes are multiplied by an attempt to cure them: if they ſucceed, the ſucceſs will only imbitter their enemies, and probably help to ſtrengthen them, by furniſhing them with a popular handle for reproach, and for alarming the public. And as to their friends, who are only to be made ſo by giving each his lot in the power which they aſſiſt to raiſe, it is not to be expected that they will raiſe it ſo high, as no longer to want their aſſiſtance, unleſs in caſes perfectly deſperate, when in the laſt ſtruggle of parties one or other muſt inevitably ſwallow all; and then the reſpect of perſons muſt carry it.

But I ſpeak here of the uſual contention for the uſual advantages of power, which is not to be acquired without difficulty and ſtruggles, unleſs where by the maggot of a prince a favourite is raiſed in a day; as king *James* I. from a ſtripling without name or experience, or any fitneſs for buſineſs, made young *Villiers* his firſt miniſter for his handſome face. But, however it may be thus haſtily got, or rather given, that miniſter found that it was not eaſily kept: for, though he was poſſeſſed of his maſter's whole authority, and inveſted, in effect, with royalty; and though that weak timor-

ons king did not at firſt, and afterwards durſt not, refuſe him any thing, how abſurd, extravagant, and arbitrary ſoever; and though the civil and military liſts were filled with his creatures and family; yet he was not too big to be ſhaken: his foundation, as ſtrong and broad as it was, felt many terrible convulſions; and if king *Charles* I. who had likewiſe taken him for his miniſter, or rather for his maſter, had not loved him better than he loved the conſtitution, and parted with the parliament rather than part with *Buckingham*, his fall muſt have been as ſwift as his riſe, as it was afterwards ſudden by the hand of an aſſaſſin.

Cardinal *Richlieu*, infinitely more able, and far more powerful, as that monarchy, which he governed with a high hand, was more abſolute than ours, was never free from difficulties, dangers, and embarraſſments: and though by his great talents and good fortune he overcame them almoſt as faſt as they aroſe; yet ſtill they aroſe as faſt as he overcame them. The intrigues of the cabinet againſt him were ſo many, ſo powerful, and ſo conſtant, that, though he had almoſt all *Europe* to contend with, he declared, That one chamber (meaning the cabinet) embarraſſed him more than all *Europe*. The plots againſt his power were perpetual, and there were frequent plots againſt his life: cardinal *de Retz* (then the abbot *de Retz*) owns himſelf to have been engaged in one, and M. *Cinqmars* died for another. *Cinqmars* was the king's favourite, and the king knew his deſign, tho' it does not appear that he approved it; but it is certain that he hated the cardinal, as did all *France*.

As his power grew, his croſſes and danger grew; ſo much are they miſtaken, who from the growth of power expect equal eaſe and ſecurity. Cardinal *Richlieu* had the entire power of *France* in his hands, her armies, her gariſons, and her finances: the king was no more than his pupil; and every thing that obeyed the monarchy, obeyed him. *Mazarine*, who had the ſame authority, but ſeems to me to have been rather a lit-

tle tricking *Italian* than a great politician, underwent ſo many inſults, diſgraces, dangers, and diſappointments, that none but a man mad with ambition and avarice would have held his place upon ſuch miſerable terms.

G *I am*, &c.

Saturday, December 7. 1723. N°. 6.

The ſame ſubject continued.

SIR,

IT is true, that the miniſters whom I mentioned in my laſt were arbitrary miniſters, and committed acts of power, which made them juſtly terrible; but it is equally true of cardinal *Richlieu*, that his juſteſt and his wiſeſt actions created him the moſt powerful enemies, and the greateſt danger: and it is true of every miniſter, that the good which he does is as odious to faction as his errors are, often more; and that his ſervices to the public are, in ſome inſtances, thro' miſrepreſentations, from envy, made diſtaſteful to the people, who muſt feel thoſe ſervices before their diſtaſte be removed. And if he has made, or they believe that he has made, any ill ſteps (a caſe by no means rare) they will be apt to believe that all his ſteps are ill, to confound the good and the bad, and to hope no good from him. Nor has he any ready way of removing thoſe ill impreſſions, but by ſome ſuch ſudden and ſignal acts of praiſe and popularity as perhaps he has no opportunity to perform; and to remove them by degrees, and by a continued ſeries of worthy actions, perhaps the term of his life, or of his power, is not ſufficient. And as ſometimes the moſt glorious actions are done with ill views, he who does them will not be more adored by ſome, than he will be dreaded and reproach-

ed by others. And hence the beginning or increaſe of factions, which almoſt always extol or condemn implicitly, and by no other rule but that of blind affection and blind antipathy.

And as faction, on one ſide, will be watching, thwarting, and expoſing all that he does; his own party, on the other, will be making advantages of his diſtreſſes, and conſequently be diſtreſſing him more; and he will find it harder to defend himſelf from his friends, and to preſerve their dependence, than to diſappoint his foes. Every party hangs together by intereſt, and every particular means his own. It is impoſſible to gratify all; and all that are not gratified are diſobliged: whoever therefore is at the head of a party, has but an uneaſy ſtation. Whatever blaze he may make, and however abſolute he may ſeem, his diſappointments often equal his triumphs; and when we ſay that he carries all before him, it is becauſe we ſee his ſucceſſes, but not his difficulties.

Beſides, he has equal trouble and ſolicitude from ſmall as from great matters. For every little favour which he has to beſtow, he has numerous little ſuitors, as well as ſeveral great ones, who become ſuitors for the ſmall, and think their reputation concerned not to be denied. So that perhaps there are a dozen conſiderable men ſoliciting earneſtly for one inconſiderable place, and each ready to reſent a refuſal, and to diſappoint him in ſomething of greater moment, if he diſappoint them in that, as he muſt do moſt of them. Sometimes he has twenty embarraſſments of the like nature upon his hand, beſides many greater, as particularly, when ſeveral conſiderable men are all candidates for ſome conſiderable thing, which can only be given to one; and all the reſt are made enemies, or cool friends.

And as there is no greatneſs without emulation, his attacks from rivals muſt be inceſſant, and frequently powerful and dangerous. They who follow power, will themſelves never want followers; and ſuch as aim at

his place, will never want creatures, nor conſequently ſtrength. It ſometimes happens that one of his own creatures; whom he truſts (as he muſt truſt ſomebody) ſhall make uſe of that truſt to ſupplant him; a method which, I think, is as frequent as any other: and hence he is ſometimes perſuaded by his falſe friends into meaſures which they intend ſhall deſtroy him. Sometimes ſchemes are offered him, which they know he will reject; and then his non-compliance, however honeſt, is made a crime, and the cauſe of his diſgrace; and he often bears the reproach of the evil counſels which he oppoſed. Sometimes a ſtep taken to ſubdue his rivals, ſhall end in exalting them: and ſometimes an advance made to win his enemies, throws him into their power. Add to all this the difficulty of managing the humours of a prince, and of pleaſing the people at the ſame time. A hard taſk! Princes are afraid of a miniſter who has too much credit; and he cannot ſerve them if he has none. Neither is the favour of the moſt powerful prince able always to preſerve a miniſter. The demands of the people, or of a great party, often make his diſmiſſion unavoidable; of which there are endleſs inſtances. Cardinal *Richlieu*, indeed, found a way to govern the *French* king and the *French* nation, in ſpite of themſelves; but I have already ſhewn what uneaſineſſes he underwent. No prince will love a miniſter whom he dares not part with; and no miniſter will care to be of ſo little importance as to be parted with at pleaſure.

It is another plague of greatneſs, that he who has it has ſcarce any leiſure, any agreeable moments to throw away upon amuſements and indolence; even when he is doing no buſineſs, the cares of buſineſs follow him, with a concern for preſerving and enlarging his power, always attacked from one quarter or another, and always liable to be attacked in ſome weak place or other. The neceſſity of receiving and of making many applications, of raiſing ſome creatures, and gaining others; of diſappointing the machinations and

aſſualts of enemies; of making many diſpatches, or directing them to be made; of giving acceſs and part of his time to ſuch as have or claim a right to ſee him, who will always be many, and always reſent it if they cannot ſee him; and of concerting and purſuing favourite projects: I ſay, all this muſt either engage him entirely, or he cannot expect to ſtand. Perpetual induſtry and anxiety are generally the terms upon which he ſtands; and if he be idle or recluſe, his affairs will be in confuſion, and he himſelf purſued with clamour, as neglectful of the public, and unequal to his truſt. Nor will the partiality and authority of the prince be able to protect him long, or at leaſt without expoſing his own reputation for the idleneſs of his miniſter.

When therefore a miniſter is ſtrongly addicted to his pleaſures, it is a great misfortune to a prince, to the people, and himſelf. A man whoſe head is often warm with wine, or perpetually poſſeſſed with women or gaming, muſt often neglect buſineſs, or do it haſtily. This is not only poſtponing, but ſacrificing the public to pleaſure. Thus the duke of *Buckingham* involved us in two wars at once, with *France* and *Spain*, for diſappointed luſt; and thus the invaſion of *Italy* by *Francis* I. the unfortunate battle of *Pavia*, the loſs of a noble army, the long captivity and impriſonment of that great king, were the effects of the paſſion of one of his miniſters for an *Italian* beauty, whom he was reſolved to enjoy once more, at the peril of his maſter and of his dominions.

It is true that the pleaſures of a miniſter, which do not affect the public, ought not to offend it; but it is as true, that however private and perſonal they are, they will give public offence; and it is his misfortune that they can ſcarce ever be hid. His haunts and diverſions will ſoon be obſerved and known. Several people muſt be truſted, ſome of them will certainly whiſper; and private whiſpers about public men will grow to be public rumours; and amongſt the rigid and preciſe, or

thoſe who pretend to be ſo, the man of pleaſure always paſſes for a debauched man.

A miniſter is liable to the ſame or greater cenſure or miſrepreſentation in the making or enlarging his fortune. Men may, by accidents, by conſpicuous parts, by the caprice of a prince, or by the partiality and weight of a party, arrive at greatneſs without the aſſiſtance of wealth: but wealth is, doubtleſs, a great help to a man who would riſe; and he who is careleſs of acquiring it, judges ill. It is one of his greateſt ſtays, and ſometimes his only one. Now, however fairly he comes by it, it is odds but part of it, if not the whole, will be aſcribed to corruption. Ill-natured compariſons will be made between what he had, which will be generally leſſened, and what he has, which will be more generally aggravated; and the fruits of private management and induſtry will be called public plunder. So that as the neglect of riches is imprudent, the accumulation of riches is unpopular. I have known great miniſters go poor out of employment, when it was thought that their eſtates were immenſe; and what others had got was ſometimes reckoned ten times greater than it proved.

The laſt thing which I mention upon this ſubject is, That men who have once taſted of greatneſs, can ſcarce ever after reliſh a private life. The toils, tumults, and anxieties inſeparable from power, make them often ſick of it, but never willing to leave it. Self-love tells them, that as nothing is too much for them, ſo they are conſtantly worthy to keep what they have; and as the diſplacing them is a contradiction to this opinion, and the putting others in their room a declaration that others are more worthy, their pride is and continues inflamed, and they are never to be cured of hatred or emulation towards their ſucceſſors. So that, beſides the loſs of power, and conſequently of homage, pomp, and ſubmiſſion (a tribute always dear to all mankind) they live ever after angry and affronted; and if they have any

pleaſure, it is when things go wrong under their ſucceſſors. Nor can old age and infirmities, unleſs they be ſuch as render themutterly unfit for buſineſs, cure them of this uneaſineſs and painful ambition. *England* affords inſtances of men who have lived forty years after their diſmiſſion from power, in a conſtant ſtruggle to regain it: at fourſcore they were in the midſt of intrigues: when they had loſt all other appetites, their luſt of power was in its vigour; upon the brink of the grave, their eyes were unnaturally turned backwards to ſecular grandeur, and their ſouls bent upon dominion.

This is one of the greateſt curſes which attend power, That they who have enjoyed it, can rarely ever after enjoy retirement; which yet they are always extolling, and ſeeming to long for, while it is out of their reach. In the hurry and ſolicitude of employment, beſet with cares, fears, and enemies, they ſee the ſecurity, eaſe, and calm of receſs; but are never to be reconciled to the terms upon which it is to be had. What! deſcend from on high, and from giving laws to a nation, to be loſt in the multitude, and upon a level with thoſe who adored them, and ſee others adored in their room; others, whom probably they hated, probably deſpiſed! This is a ſorrowful and a dreadful thought to ambition; and they conſider their diſcharge as a ſentence of ignominy and exile.

G *I am*, &c.

FINIS.

BRITISH
11 NO 85
MUSEUM